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Kozyrev in Geneva for Disarmament Conference

LD1202191792 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Alexandrova, Sergey Sedov, and Boris Shabayev]

[Text] Geneva February 12 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev spent a hectic one-day visit to Geneva on Wednesday [12 February].

In his address to the plenary session of the disarmament conference here he set forth a number of specific proposals for implementing recent Russian initiatives concerning strategic offensive weapons and called for a radical re-evaluation of the world's military-strategic situation and a revision of nuclear military doctrines.

The U.N. Human Rights Commission, holding a session in Geneva, listened with great attention to Kozyrev's presentation of the Russian Government's and parliament's stance toward the entire set of problems relating to human rights.

Later, Kozyrev spoke in the Geneva International Research Institute on Russia's new image on the international arena.

He used up the remaining time on talks with the leaders of the U.N. European Department, the disarmament conference and the conference's special chemical weapons committee.

Later in the day, Kozyrev left Geneva for Moscow.

Kozyrev Speaks at Meeting

LD1202160492 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrova, Sergey Sedov, and Boris Shabayev]

[Text] Geneva February 12 TASS—An entirely new political context has emerged for the disarmament conference. A "disarmament game" of political opponents trying to outwit each other has ended, and now the conference can and must become a forum of like-minded people, who are facing the task of removing the obstructions left by confrontation, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said today at a plenary meeting of the disarmament conference in Geneva.

He read President Yeltsin's message to participants in the conference and submitted a number of proposals dealing with the putting into effect of the recent Russian initiatives on strategic offensive armaments.

These include the proposal to examine a possibility of fully removing from stand-by alert the strategic forces of Russia, the United States and other nuclear powers trained at each other's territories and facilities, thus achieving a sort of a "zero-option combat alert" of nuclear weapons. In his opinion, separate keeping nuclear weapon delivery vehicles and warheads could be useful in this respect.

The Russian foreign minister called for a radical reassessment of the world strategic situation and, consequently, of the nuclear military doctrines.

He suggested that the parties concerned should "analyse a possibility of all nuclear powers exchanging information about the quantity and types of the warheads they possess, the amounts of fissionable materials, as well as their facilities for the production, stockpiling and elimination of nuclear weapons." agreement on this subject may be reached at the disarmament conference.

According to Kozyrev, Russia and the United States should make a major contribution to the settlement of all nuclear disarmament problems. "Other nuclear powers might join the nuclear disarmament process later, when nuclar arsenals of all the countries possessing them reach comparable proportions," he said.

The problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has acquired some new characteristics, Kozyrev continued. Russia is taking measures to prevent the disintegration of the former Soviet Union from triggering nuclear proliferation and from promoting the creation of several nuclear powers to replace the USSR. It proceeds from the assumption that Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan will join the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as non-nuclear powers.

The nuclear non-proliferation issue has a human dimension as well. We share the concern of some countries over a possible emigration of our specialists, who work on the development of dangerous types of armaments, and believe that measures to settle this problem should be taken in due time, which should not run counter to the international human rights standards. The drawing of scientists and specialists from Russia and other CIS member states into the implementation of major international conversion projects would be the most effective solution.

Touching upon the arms trade problem, Kozyrev stressed that Russia is no longer guided in this respect by ideological considerations or categories of military-power confrontation with other major arms producers. It is ready to take part in supplying information about arms trade to a corresponding international register, which is being created in accordance with a U.N. resolution, starting from the next year.

The Russian Federation continues to be a staunch supporter of the prevention of arms race in outer space and comes out for the preservation of the anti-ballistic missile treaty with the United States, Kozyrev stressed.

Speaking about President Yeltsin's proposal to create a joint global ABM system to replace SDI, Kozyrev pointed out that the proposal included a programme of joint research which, among other things, could help

resolve the problem of brain drain from the defence complex of nuclear and space powers.

Kozyrev described the completion of talks on a full chemical weapons ban and elimination as the most important and urgent task facing the disarmament conference. He said that 40,000 tonnes of toxic agents, which are difficult to destroy, are deployed on the territory of his country, and their elimination poses a very serious problem for Russia.

According to Kozyrev, Russia has at its disposal the technology of the elimination of chemical weapons. The most important thing is to get the consent of the population for the construction of corresponding facilities. In the opinion of Kozyrev, a certain aid from abroad could be used for guaranteeing the ecological safety of the elimination process.

Further on Proposals

LD1202201692 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Ludmila Aleksandrova, Sergey Sedov, and Boris Shabayev]

[Text] Geneva February 12 TASS— A number of specific proposals to implement recent Russian initiatives regarding strategic offensive arms were advanced by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. He addressed a meeting of the conference on disarmament in Geneva on Wednesday [12 February].

Kozyrev proposed to discuss the removal from combat duty of the strategic forces of Russia, the United States and other nuclear powers targeted at each other's territories and thus to achieve "zero combat readiness" for nuclear weapons.

Kozyrev believes that separate storing of nuclear delivery vehicles and ammunition would also be ensuring the same. The ICBM would be kept at launch pads without warheads. Submarine-launched ballistic missiles and sea-launched cruise missiles would be unloaded from submarines. The submarines would be stationed at their ports. Nuclear arms for heavy bombers, including air-launched cruise missiles, would be kept at centralized places of storage.

The Russian foreign minister called for the reassessment of the entire military strategic situation in the world and, specifically of military doctrines. He suggested that all nuclear powers should exchange on a reciprocity basis the data about the number and types of nuclear charges in their possession, the amount of fissionable materials, as well as on the facilities for the manufacture, storage and elimination of nuclear weapons. Agreement to this effect could be reached at the conference on disarmament.

Kozyrev said Russia and the United States should make the main contribution to the solution of all tasks related to nuclear disarmament. He said other nuclear powers could join in nuclear disarmament later, when the nuclear arsenals of all nuclear states become comparable.

The question of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction has been posed in a different way, Kozyrev said. Russia is taking measures to ensure that the disintegration of the former Soviet Union should not promote nuclear spread, and that several nuclear states should not arise in place of the USSR. Russia proceeds from the view that Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan will join the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as non-nuclear states.

The non-proliferation problems also has a human dimension. "We share the concern of a number of countries over the possible drain of specialists developing most dangerous kinds of arms. We believe that timely steps that would not contradict international standards in human rights should be taken regarding this problem", the minister said.

It would be the most effective solution to draw scientists and specialists from Russia and other CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries into large international projects for converting military facilities to civilian uses. This would mean applying their knowledge, intellectual potential and energy to a peaceful constructive purpose, the minister said. He favoured the exchange of information that was regarded as sensitive in the past.

Regarding trade in arms, the minister said that Russia is no longer guided in this matter by ideological approaches or notions of military confrontation with other large arms manufactures. From next year Russia is prepared to supply information about trade and arms to an appropriate international register being formed in accordance with a United Nations resolution.

Kozyrev said Russia remains a confirmed supporter of preventing the arms race in space and declares for preserving the ABM Treaty concluded with the U.S.

Regarding Russian President Yeltsin's proposal for a joint global security system to replace SDI, the minister said that a programme of joint research is being worked out. This programme could also help deal with "brain drain" from the defence complex of nuclear states.

Kozyrev said that concluding the negotiations on total ban and elimination of chemical weapons is the chief and most urgent task facing the conference on disarmement. He said that 40,000 tonnes of toxic agents difficult to eliminate have accumulated on the country's territory and that Russia faces very complex problems connected with their elimination.

Russia has the technology for the destruction of chemical weapons. The main thing is to secure the population's consent to the construction of required facilities. Kozyrev believes that certain assistance from abroad could be used to ensure guarantees of ecological purity of the elimination process.

Speaks at Research Institute

LD1202221192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2100 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Russia's new look in the international arena was the subject of a paper given by Andrey Kozyrev, foreign minister of the Russian Federation, at Geneva's International Research Institute. The world community, he said, can play a considerable part in making the democratic transformations in Russia irreversible. Speaking of the Russian Federation's foreign policy, Andrey Kozyrev stressed that it now applies to the former republics of the collapsed Union, which have become the countries just across the border, as well.

'Lightning' Tour Ends

LD1202214492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1830 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's visit to Geneva has ended. Lightning tours by Russian diplomats have become fashionable. Therefore, the Russian foreign minister's brief appearance in the Palais des Nations in Geneva caused no surprise here, but attracted attention, and all the more so because this visit to the UN's European center took place soon after President Yeltsin's visit to the major Western countries, where he formulated the main directions of Russian foreign policy. Our correspondent Farid Seyful-Mulyukov reports from Geneva in this connection.

[Begin Seyful-Mulyukov recording] In Geneva, Andrey Kozyrev fleshed out the tasks of our diplomacy in three areas: disarmament, human rights, and the new Russia's relations with the outside world. These highly topical themes were the subject of the foreign minister's speeches at the disarmament conference, to the UN Human Rights Commission, and at Geneva's Institute of International Relations. Russia's disarmament initiatives, Kozyrev stressed, were coordinated with our Commonwealth partners. Although further sharp reductions in nuclear arms on the territory of the Commonwealth of Independent States are a priority, the elimination of other weapons of mass destruction also is very much on the agenda, in particular the 40,000 tonnes of poisonous materials that Russia has inherited from the Soviet empire.

Behind these military monstrosities stand the fates of millions of people. Speaking to the Human Rights Commission, Andrey Kozyrev noted that following the collapse of the totalitarian system Russia has returned to the path being trodden by the democratic countries.

What are the main motives for your visit to the UN's European center, the correspondent asked the Russian foreign minister. He said that there was a feeling that summit meetings which recently have embraced all of the world's leading states should be complemented by addressing a broader circle of states. The disarmament conference today includes many countries and I wanted to attract their attention to the special moment when we changed over to relations of friendship, and potentially, to relations of alliance for the whole world community. This is the main purpose of my visit to Geneva. At the disarmament conference I read out a message from President Yeltsin, which stresses the necessity of achieving a breakthrough this year on the convention banning chemical weapons. This would be a truly global treaty completely eliminating a whole class of mass annihilation weapons, Andrey Kozyrev stressed.

This was the first time that a Russian foreign minister has spoken at the Human Rights Commission. What was the reason for this, I asked Andrey Vladimirovich. This once again has been the result of changes in our country, changes in our approach to the world, he said. We consider that now, when the cold war has ended totally and new relations of cooperation are being created with many Western countries, it is necessary to concentrate on those things that worry people, that is, the quality of life and living standards. And here there are no alternatives to the democratic processes in Russia. Therefore, all the appeals by certain figures that we could return to communism or rush toward fascism or nationalism and that this would extricate Russia from its economic impasse—this is an utter mistake and world experience clearly proves this. [end recording]

Kozyrev Returns, Remarks

LD1202230992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2225 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—This is the first time that a Russian foreign minister—and this applies to Union ministers as well—has delivered a speech at the UN Human Rights Commission. Andrey Kozyrev, the Russian Federation's foreign minister, said this to journalists on board the aircraft which brought him from Geneva back to Moscow this evening.

During his short visit to Geneva, the Russian minister also addressed the disarmament conference session, spoke at the Geneva International Research Institute, and held a number of meetings with leaders and representatives of international organizations.

Speaking about the ideas expressed at the disarmament conference, which fleshed out the recent Russian nuclear disarmament initiatives, Andrey Kozyrev commented that they had been put forward as a way of raising the issues and that they applied to the more distant future.

The Russian minister stated that the government has tried for the first time to react to criticism from some representatives of the military-industrial complex, who claim that as disarmament goes ahead, one must not live in the clouds but bear in mind its economic aspects. "Yes, it is necessary to eliminate weapons, but why is it obligatory to destroy everything totally?" he asked.

The second point of the economic aspect of disarmament, which was touched on in the minister's speech at the Disarmament Conference, was the trade in weapons. "Of course, we are not dashing about at the moment at breakneck speed to cram the market with weapons at any price. This is an extremely dangerous approach," Andrey Kozyrev stressed. But we will supply weapons where it is possible, while at the same time observing international norms and agreements.

Replying to an ITAR-TASS correspondent's question about Russia's foreign policy in relation to its "immediate foreign neighbors"—the countries of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], Andrey Kozyrev noted that Russia has for the first time openly stated that it will uphold the interests of the Russian people, but only by lawful methods. A special department on work with the countries of the CIS, to which experienced diplomatic cadres are being attracted, is being created in the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Concerning the problem of nuclear weapons in the former USSR, the Russian foreign minister stated that there must be only one state in this sphere—the lawful successor to the Union. "Otherwise we will be violating all international norms. In the place of the USSR either several nuclear states will emerge—then we would have a violation of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, or one nuclear state will remain, as agreed in Alma-Ata—that is, Russia."

Yeltsin Sends Message to Disarmament Conference

Adversaries May Become Allies

LD1202194392 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has sent his greetings to participants in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

Russia will honestly and openly cooperate with other countries to achieve lofty goals facing the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, Yeltsin said.

He said his recent talks with Western leaders and the results of the U.N. Security Council session create new friendly relations between former adversaries, which may soon become allies, and encourage joint efforts to disarm the world.

Yeltsin stressed the need to work out an international convention to ban chemical weapons this year.

Ready To Cooperate 'Honestly'

LD1202155192 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ludmila Alexandrova, Sergey Sedov and Boris Shabayev]

[Text] Geneva February 12 TASS—Important results have been achieved over the years of multilateral negotiations at the conference on disarmament. Of special importance are the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and other agreements worked out in its framework. This is said in a message by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the conference on disarmament in Geneva. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on Wednesday [12 February] read out the Russian president's message at a meeting of the international forum.

The message says Russia hopes that the drafting of the comprehensive convention prohibiting chemical weapons will be completed this year and counts on the assistance of the entire world community in the destruction of a large arsenal of these weapons which it inherited from the former USSR.

The Russian president believes the conference on disarmament must help remove the legacy of the cold war—arms stockpiles, huge armies and whole branches of industry that worked for military purposes and employed millions of people. Yeltsin assured the conference of Russia's readiness to cooperate honestly and openly with other countries for the sake of achieving this lofty purpose.

Kazakhstan May Set Weapons Elimination Terms

OW1202184092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1724 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the meeting of the leaders of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] nations in Minsk February 14 Kazakhstan will most likely put its own interests first—those of national and state security—in the discussions on the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons. This was indicated in comments by those close to President Nazarbayev.

According to the sources, the liquidation of nuclear weapons is one of Nursultan Nazarbayev's main objectives. However, the government of Kazakhstan repeatedly stated that the process of the reduction of strategic forces must come under a single military doctrine for the CIS, which does not yet exist but will be the topic of discussion at the Minsk meeting.

By some accounts there are 1150 strategical and 150 tactical nuclear warheads on Kazakhstan's territory. The dismantling of launch sites and transport of weapons to Russia is an extravagant undertaking for the Republic (the budget deficit is 8 billion rubles). "We didn't become a nuclear state by our own initiative", said Nazarbayev during the January 25 visit of French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

Kazakhstan is caught between the nuclear tongs of Russia from the west and China from the east. There is also the threat from the Russian leadership on ethnic disagreements (only 40% of Kazakhstan is native).

As for China, the head of the sector of military construction in Kazakhstan, Viktor Shklyar, says there are 10 disputed regions from both sides. One proposed solution is to establish a radius of one thousand kilometers from the borders which will be nuclear free.

Experts in Alma-Ata believe that Kazakhstan will be forced to join the nuclear club in the near future; members of the club are responsible for each others security. This, the experts assert, does not contradict the Alam-Ata agreement of December 21, 1991 on "the cooperation in nuclear relations".

Illegal Nuclear Shipments Originated in USSR

MK1202130592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 16 Feb 92 p 13

[Aleksey Khazov report under the "Scandal" rubric: "Nuclear Alarm in Rome. Not Only Baghdad and Tripoli, but Mafia Terrorists From Any Country in the World Could Now Own Nuclear Components From the Former USSR"]

[Text] Immediately after the August putsch, when anonymous well-wishers from Budapest briefed Interpol about "strange movements of military materials from the USSR to Europe," the Italians did not at first attach particular importance to this. But when a month later their special services received a confidential report on this from Aldo Anghessa, it became clear that something serious and unusual was in fact going on.

Anghessa—a dealer well-versed in shady deals as a middleman with the Third World—has long been well-known to Rome's special services, and to other people as well. The height of his renown came in 1987 when he informed the Italian authorities with supreme accuracy that a Libyan ship docking at a local port had taken on board a sizable consignment of weapons and drugs. Since then there seems to have been no reason not to trust Anghessa...

What did such an important "source" report this time? The fact that he had come across two international mafia couriers who told him in alarm that "they had gotten mixed up in a deal" involving not just the shipment of weapons or heroin, but the buying and selling of... nuclear materials from the moribund USSR.

Anghessa's information was confirmed again. It was confirmed by geiger counters that went wild when a Swiss called Karl Friedrich Federer was searched in his hotel in the town of Como in northern Italy. The financial police found a minute tablet among his things containing 0.2mg of plutonium. Skilled experts produced their findings: The tablet is used to set [otladka] gauges during work with fissionable materials. "Tekhsnabeksport" was the underground supplier. Its address is 32/34, Smolenskaya-Sennaya, Moscow.

A month later the Swiss police seized in Zurich a consignment of uranium-235—roughly 30 kg in total, allegedly from the Congo. But further investigation showed that the trail led to Irkutsk.

Another month went by and there came another discovery. This time in Milan. Four "couriers" were arrested there at once, three of them Hungarian (!). Their baggage contained 2 kg of red mercury, a radioactive material used in the Soviet nuclear industry as a good heat conductor.

All these things are extremely alarming to the Italian authorities. "We are no angels, of course," MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI's correspondent was told by a man with close links with high-ups in the local military-industrial complex. "We have sold weapons to Libya and Iraq; in the late-1970's; moreover, we supplied Baghdad with a whole radiological laboratory with equipment to yield plutonium as well as, according to some data, a heavy-water reactor, also for producing plutonium." But in that case it was largely a matter of "controlled" operations. Now the breakup of the former USSR's military production and the absence of customs and other forms of control are, we are convinced, bringing about underground deals involving international mafia organizations. That means that dangerous nuclear components could even fall into the hands of those people for whom they were not originally destined.

Chelyabinsk-70 Nuclear Brain Drain Examined

MK0802141592 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No. 6, 5-11 Feb 92 p 8

[Sergey Belkovskiy article: "I Swap Chelyabinsk For Iraq. Is That Scenario Possible? Nuclear Specialists Themselves Answer the Question"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk-70—The Soviet nuclear "brain drain" to Third World countries will enable the latter to make appreciable advances in developing their own nuclear weapons. These forecasts and misgivings have become more frequent of late in foreign publications. Possibly Western countries and the United States are trying to turn our attention to the problems facing nuclear scientists, talk of which in the land of Chernobyl arouses irritation more often than understanding. Nonetheless this is a sector that must not be affected by the process of disintegration that has encompassed the former Union. Nuclear disintegration could be highly dangerous. Both for us and the world around us.

The VNIITF is in the Urals in the "closed" city of Chelyabinsk-70 surrounded by barbed wire. The gate to the city is a checkpoint; armed soldiers greet you here. The abbreviation VNIITF in Russian stands for—All-Union Technical Physics Research Institute. It is due to this institute that this city appeared in the southern Urals.

We have gotten accustomed to thinking that big science is located in either Moscow or the other capitals. Until recently there was nothing in the newspapers about Cheiyabinsk-70, a city the size of a rayon center, and you

will not find this city on a map. However, it was here that the cream of nuclear science gathered. Here and in Arzamas-16....

There was a time when the residents of "70" were known as the "chocolate people" [shokoladniki]: They supplied their relatives in the "world outside" with food and other things. Now there is none of the former abundance, and everything is supplied strictly on production of ration cards and coupons. All that is left of the good old days is amazingly clean streets, literally crammed with automobiles (there is hardly another city like it in Russia in terms of the number per capita). And Chelyabinsk-70 is a good city in terms of its crime level. It is not frightening for a lone individual to set off into the pine woods scattered alongside the blocks of housing. It is a stone's throw to Lake Sinara. In summer you can get a tan and swim. The air is clean and fresh....

ROSSIYA's correspondent is one of the first journalists to visit this city and meet the people who were for so long fenced off and stamped "Secret." Before it would have been impossible to interview them.

"Now we can give an interlocutor our own visiting card": I held a rectangular card in my hand and read "Doctor of Physics and Mathematical Sciences Vadim Aleksandrovich Simonenko, branch chief."

"I recently met U.S. scientists in Kiev and they asked outright: How possible is it for nuclear specialists to go to Third World countries?" Simonenko said. "So it is not only from newspapers that I am aware of this alarm abroad."

"Unlike Western nuclear scientists, ours are not narrow specialists. Although we are theoreticians, we always work alongside designers and experimental personnel and are present at the plants during assembly."

Simonenko believes that a nuclear brain drain abroad is still rather a theoretical problem, but that it could it rapidly become more immediate.

After people have left the "prohibited area" their chances of ending up abroad increase drastically, my interlocutor said, because there are no real borders today. The main thing is to get out of Russia and, if you find yourself in the Ukraine, for instance, it costs nothing to get to Poland. Or further....

I asked Simonenko's colleagues a direct question: Would they leave if they received an invitation to work abroad?

"As far as I know, none of my friends has received that kind of offer," A. Antonov, engineer-designer Category I, replied. "People have always been hand-picked [shtuchnyy otbor] for our institute, and as a result committed people with a sense of duty, so to speak, were gathered here. Before we took pride in doing crucial business for the state, and we were conscious of this from the fact that the standard of living in Chelyabinsk-70 was considerably higher than in other places. Now my salary is 838 rubles [R]. Other people's salaries are even lower. We are virtually becoming outcasts."

"Specialists have already begun to leave the institute. Right now they are going out into the 'big wide world.'" But, remember, it's all the same to us where designers and skilled workers go—whether they go abroad or to the neighboring city of Kasli," V. Nikitin, the institute's deputy director, said. "You don't get real specialists in our field straight from university; it takes 10-15 years of practical work. In the last year—this has never happened here before—more than 100 people left. Mainly [manual] workers at the moment. But even they, believe you me, were hand-picked people.

S. Gagarinov, chairman of the institute's trade union committee:

"At our request the cost of the minimum consumer basket in Chelyabinsk-70 was worked out: It turns out to be roughly R1,100-1,200 per month working on the basis of the prices for the first half of January."

How can these people be provided with at least a normal wage?

"There is a great deal of talk now about conversion," V. Simonenko opines. "But I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the conversion projects currently being discussed require far less intellectual effort from scientists than our previous work developing weapons. There are scientists here in Chelyabinsk-70 capable of solving global problems. So, it is necessary for them to replace one task with another, equally wide-ranging task...."

Intergovernmental Chemical Arms Pact Viewed

PM1002110592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Feb 92 p 2

[ITAR-TASS report under the "One-Line Telegrams" rubric: "Who Will Destroy Chemical Weapons?"]

[Text] "In pursuing a course of banning and destroying chemical weapons, the Russian Federation will inevitably come up against considerable difficulties inherited from the former Union," Colonel General Stanislav Petrov, chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces Chemical Troops, believes. A draft state program for destroying chemical weapons was formulated two years ago. However, since then no specific decisions have been made. The draft needs to be more precise and it needs to be amended. In his view, it would be more logical to sign an agreement at intergovernmental level on sharing the material and financial losses associated with the destruction of chemical weapons.

Economic Case for Arms Trading Argued

PM1102135792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 92 p 2

[Interview with Viktor Glukhikh, "leader of the military-industrial complex," by A. Khokhlov; place and date not given: "There Is Only the MiG; So Hold Onto It... Russia May Sell $15-30 Billion Dollars Worth of Weapons Annually, Viktor Glukhikh, Leader of the Military-Industrial Complex Believes"]

[Text] [Khokhlov] Viktor Konstantinovich, Russian politicians and financiers are convulsively looking for a way out of the pit of indebtedness. President Yeltsin has now stated: We will trade in arms!

[Glukhikh] Of course the arms trade alone will not save Russia, but it may help. Significantly. In the pre-perestroyka years the USSR sold about $18 billion worth of weapons on the world market annually. Surely such money would not hurt today?

[Khokhlov] But what about the idea of humanism in politics?

[Glukhikh] Russia's prestige will not suffer as a result of selling weapons. The UN Charter talks of every country's right to create its own defensive structures and forces. All states participate in arms deals. Those who can manufacture them sell them, and those who cannot, buy them.

I am neither a pessimist or an optimist. I am a realist and do not believe that the world will change quickly. Of course we could completely stop supplies of MiG aircraft and antitank guided missiles to the international market, but the weapons "second-hand market" would scarcely disappear because of this. Our place in the market would instantaneously be taken by other countries. Which has happened in recent years, incidentally.

[Khokhlov] By how much have arms sales declined?

[Glukhikh] It has declined several times over. The Russian Ministry of Industry and the Foreign Ministry have made attempts to restore our positions in the world market. And there are already some results. But if today I was to name just one specific country to whom we intend to sell weapons, tomorrow we would be selling them at least 15-20 percent cheaper to that country and others. It is competition...

I will only say that active talks are going on with certain states in the Far and Near East—excluding Iraq, of course—and in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and contracts are being prepared. Very large orders are being put in. But by and large, contracts take a long time to conclude. After all, the purchase of arms is in a separate section in the budgets of the states that are buying them. The budgetary year begins at different times in different countries. Sometimes parliamentary discussions are protracted. Sometimes several years go by between a contractual statement of intent and the actual dispatch of the consignment.

[Khokhlov] What types of weapons are in highest demand?

[Glukhikh] Together with the United States, France, Britain, and Germany we form a group of five countries capable of manufacturing weapons of any class and standard. MiG-29, MiG-31, and SU-27 aircraft, T-72 tanks, antitank guided missiles, torpedoes, Kalashnikov assault rifles, and ammunition... are most in demand from Russia. This involves hundreds of categories and types of hardware, weapons, and ammunition capable of rivaling—or even surpassing—world models.

[Khokhlov] How much does a tank cost, for example?

[Glukhikh] One of our T-72 tanks, manufactured at home, used to cost 960,000 rubles [R] in this country. On the world market we sold it at $1,800,000. One ruble brought in two dollars. I cannot talk about certain other prices at the moment—this is a commercial secret. But the sales are advantageous. Very much so. A MiG-31 can be sold for $45-50 million. Economically speaking, it would be crass ignorance to fail to supplement the state budget through arms trading, handing over complete control on the world market to others.

[Khokhlov] But we have handed it over! There are rumors going around that we have lost practically all the military markets.

[Glukhikh] Not all of them. Roughly one-fourth. Now we are winning them back and seeking new ones.

[Khokhlov] Can we win them? Are we strong enough? Our military-industrial complex has been criticized and attacked so much...

[Glukhikh] In our country the military-industrial complex has been given the image of a "monster" sucking the life out of the starving people. To arm and be armed is not the task of the military-industrial complex and the army; it is the task of a state that wants to remain independent.

Three-fourths of the former USSR's defense complex has gone to Russia. This means 1,500 industrial enterprises and over 900 scientific research institutes and design bureaus. The overall number of workers is around 9 million, and of these 1.7 million are working in scientific research institutes and design bureaus. We are not parasites living off the people. In 1991 over 60 percent of the military-industrial complex's output was consumer goods and other civilian output. One defense worker in every two worked for peace and not for war.

Indeed, we want to survive. The government has practically suspended budget financing and has not made any money available for conversion. This situation does not exist anywhere else in the world. Usually the maximum rate of conversion is 3-5 percent. Whereas we have been converting 30 percent of our capabilities in the past two years. And we have survived. But tomorrow what is going to happen to the millions of Russians who are working for defense, including in closed cities? Are we

going to throw the cream of Russian science, engineering, and the working class out onto the street? If anyone can pull Russia out of the crisis, I believe that these are the people. But first of all we must help them. The money we receive from arms sales will go specifically into conversion of the defense complex. Talks are already going on about this with the American side.

[Khokhlov] So hopes that the dollars obtained in exchange for MiG aircraft will be used for the purchase of food and medicines are unfounded?

[Glukhikh] The state takes from the sales a rate of about 40 percent of the deal. It can do what it likes with this. The rest goes to the manufacturers. We must not kill the hen that lays the golden eggs. The military-industrial complex's fixed productive capital makes up about 6 percent of the potential of the country's industry, and is it right to scatter all this part of our wealth to the winds at a stroke for the sake of achieving short-term objectives?

Politicians' intervention in the arms trade should be minimal: They should just elaborate general guidelines. Specialists—defense workers and diplomats—should decide whom to sell to and for how much. The main thing is to not do damage to yourself by arming possible geopolitical rivals, to not supply weapons to the "hotbeds," and to bring maximum profit to Russia. All this with strict state supervision. The government has changed in Ethiopia, for example. But the military hardware has stayed. If we do not sell spare parts, then someone else will. This also includes our weapons. There are a great many of them in Eastern Europe and they are being manufactured by China too. Hundreds and thousands of firms are living off the sale and resale of our weapons. Even the peaceful Swedes are earning millions on a legal basis by trading in fire control systems for Soviet tanks. And the Czechs and the Slovaks are now undercutting us with their prices on tanks, which they are selling at the laughable price of $300,000 dollars.

[Khokhlov] Is there anything Russia would never trade in?

[Glukhikh] The latest developments and sophisticated weapons technologies, primarily nuclear ones. Altogether, Russia could realistically sell weapons to the tune of $15-30 billion a year.

International Affairs

Baker Tour of Commonwealth Previewed

PM1202151592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 5

[Article by Aleksandr Sychev: "Tour of 'Arc of Tension' from Kishinev to Tashkent"]

[Text] The government Boeing with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker and the delegation accompanying him on board landed at Kishinev late at night on 10 February. The official tour of six CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states, with a side trip to Moscow, had begun. It will last through 18 February.

Although, according to information that has filtered through to the press, J. Baker had long been planning to visit Kishinev, Yerevan, and Baku, their inclusion in the program of this tour, which was originally to embrace only the three Central Asian republics of Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, came as a surprise.

It has not been possible to obtain official explanations of the reasons that prompted Washington to alter the program. However, it is possible to make certain assumptions. It is striking, above all, that these six states form at least two arcs of increased political activeness within the CIS. An exacerbation of the situation on any sector of one of them, extending from Moldova to Central Asia, could lead to the collapse of the CIS. On the other arc, the Asian one, the long-term geopolitical distribution of forces in the region is taking shape today.

The United States is undoubtedly following the development of events throughout the Commonwealth attentively. And yet the six states included on the list of the tour found themselves in the deep shadow cast by the disputes that flared up between Ukraine and Russia over the Army, the strategic forces, the Black Sea Fleet, and ownership of the Crimea's territory. It seemed that a catastrophe would happen right here. All attention was focused on this. This partly explained why J. Baker made his first trip to the major states that have arisen in the USSR's place.

Now the rapidly changing situation in the CIS has required direct familiarization with the state of affairs in other Commonwealth states. Of course, there are different reasons for going to each of them. In Moldova J. Baker endeavored to ascertain just how far the confrontation between Moldovans and Russians has gone in the Dnestr region and what the real prospects and pace of the republic's rapprochement with Romania are. During the talks which he had with the republic's president, M. Snegur—E. Kondratov, our correspondent in Kishinev, reported—the U.S. secretary of state also specified the timing of the Moldovan leader's visit across the ocean.

The few hours that Baker will spend in Yerevan and Baku will also be devoted to ascertaining the depth of the interethnic conflict and the resultant threat to stability in the region and in the CIS as a whole. He will demonstrate Washington's interest in developing relations with the Transcaucasian states, material evidence of which is provided, throughout the tour itinerary, by the transport aircraft of the U.S. Air Force landing with humanitarian aid freight.

However, whereas J. Baker's lightning tour of Moldova, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, where he will linger just a few hours, has the nature, rather, of a familiarization tour, the Central Asian part of the tour has clearly been prepared more thoroughly.

Many experts believe that the line of confrontation which previously divided Europe into West and East could move precisely to Central Asia. Therefore the U.S. secretary of state's arrival in this region today is far from accidental. J. Baker will undoubtedly launch a new U.S. political course in the region, which will be distinguished by greater activeness.

The strategic interests of China, Iran, and Turkey, as well as, to a lesser degree, Pakistan and Afghanistan, have clashed in what used to be Soviet Central Asia. Whose influence will prevail? Which way will Central Asia, where more Muslims live than in the whole of the Near East, turn? Which features will determine the countenance of the whole Asian subcontinent? Will Central Asia take the path of Iranian-style Islamic fundemantalism or will it follow Muslim Turkey, which is geared to broad ties with the West? Precisely Turkey and Iran are today regarded as competing models of development for the states of Central Asia. "What happens in Central Asia will undoubtedly affect the distribution of forces in the Persian Gulf, in South Asia, in the Near East, and, to a lesser degree, in China," the well-known expert M. Alcott believes.

Describing the situation in Turkmenistan on the eve of J. Baker's visit, IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Kuleshov points to increasing penetration by Iran. Tehran is offering its assistance in developing the economy and gaining access to the world market for Turkmen gas and cotton. More than 6 million tonnes of crude oil will be delivered to Turkmenistan annually. Iran will construct an oil refinery. Dr. Mohsen Nurbakhsh, Iranian minister of economy and finance, recently sent the president of Turkmenistan an invitation to participate in the conference of member countries of the Economic Cooperation Organization, to be held in Tehran 16 February. Iran is not waiting but is seeking to fill the political and economic vacuum formed in the Central Asian republics following the collapse of the Union.

Unlike the United States, our correspondent points out, Iran quickly realized the geopolitical significance of Turkmenistan in Central Asia. Unfortunately, neither America nor Russia, which is trying to cast the Central Asian republics off like weights from its legs in the belief that this will alleviate its position, is yet giving sufficient attention to this.

In Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan it is possible that the U.S. secretary of state will offer official recognition, even including the establishment of diplomatic relations, and some economic and technical assistance, for which the republics have an extreme need. At any rate, the Central Asian countries, which are interested not only in maintaining cultural ties with their neighbors but also in successful economic development, which only the West can promote, pin great hopes precisely on enhancing the status of relations with the great power.

It is significant that, as on his first trip, J. Baker will make a stopover in Moscow on the way back. He will be brought here not only by the need to further elaborate the initiatives advanced by the United States and Russia in the sphere of reducing nuclear arms. Here he will make the latest amplifications to the view of the situation that he gained during his tour, and he will try to ascertain the chief thing for U.S. foreign policy—how strong the CIS is.

Solton on CIA Plan To Oust Saddam Husayn

LD1002145392 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton—read by announcer]

[Text] The U.S. media reports the American Central Intelligence Agency is preparing a plan to oust the Iraqi president, Saddam Husayn, from power. Yuriy Solton has this commentary.

Summed up, these reports, made with reference to reliable sources, suggest this plan meets with President Bush's personal approval. The LOS ANGELES TIMES writes $30 million have been set aside to step up the anti-Saddam propaganda, back the opposition, and for other measures which have not been specified.

The AP news agency reminds that, addressing the Congress last November, President Bush said the United States should be ready if necessary to launch military operations in support of the Iraqi opposition. And the new CIA director, Robert Gates, is presumed by the media to be currently touring the Middle East, not only with the inspection purposes but also in an attempt to organize an international campaign against Saddam Husayn. But the Bush administration has not given newsmen any definite information on the matter, but neither does it deny the possibility of such actions.

Washington's attitude toward Saddam Husayn has noticeably toughened. He is often called a dictator, a tyrant, and accused of violating the United Nations Security Council's decisions concerning the dismantling of the Iraqi war machine, as well as genocide against Kurds and other ethnic minorities. There are grounds for such accusations. The Iraqi leader's sometimes provocative behavior, which stirs up fears in the neighboring countries, has been openly denounced by the United Nations.

But the international law prohibits interference into any country's internal affairs, no matter with what noble motives it can be justified, for it may create a dangerous precedent. Iraq was severely punished for its aggression against Kuwait. Sanctions imposed on it by the United Nations are well enforced and may be added by even stricter measures if necessary. But this should be done in an open way, the same as it was when Iraqis were being driven out of Kuwait, while secret operations by another country aimed at overthrowing the present government in Iraq may, on the contrary, produce negative results.

CIA TV Network, Restructuring Described

PM1202131992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by Artur Blinov: "Showing on Langley TV. Senior U.S. Government Officials Will Be Getting Intelligence Information on Television"]

[Text] Washington—A unique television service will be appearing soon in Washington, if the U.S. papers are to be believed. It will employ thousands of professionals—often unknown or anonymous—but will be watched by only 100 people. This is the small group of leading people in the administration who will have special television monitors directly linked to Langley, headquarters of the CIA. At any time of the day or, probably, night they will be able to see the latest intelligence data on the situation in the world, above all in the world's trouble spots.

The 100 viewers will have a choice of several channels: one for current events, one a digest of intelligence reports on various topics, and the third for more detailed information.

CIA deputy director Gary Foster, one of the creators of the new television service, told correspondents from THE WASHINGTON POST that the monitors will be installed on the eminent viewers' desks or alongside them—so there is no temptation to organize collective viewings with people who do not have authorized access. They will not be installed—initially at least—in the offices of members of Congress.

According to G. Foster, the CIA television service will have the latest news, possibly not more than three hours old, which will almost be on a par with telegraph agency reports.

CIA bosses note that it is all a response to competition from ordinary commercial television companies, particularly the efficient and ubiquitous CNN. Current CIA director Robert Gates complained at the congressional hearings where his nomination was confirmed: The daily presidential report and the National Intelligence Daily often contain what the consumers saw on television the day before or read in the morning papers.

"To be frank, we in the intelligence community failed to take due notice of the appearance in the arena of CNN and other systems broadcasting news around the clock," R. Gates said. "As a result, much of our intelligence information lands on politicians' desks when it is already stale news."

For some people in the CIA the new service means a new, busier work schedule and, perhaps, different working hours. "Under the new system we will have to be on the job all the time," the CIA spokesman told correspondents. But the "19th century"—R. Gates' words—will be over, from the intelligence distribution viewpoint, and the CIA will have entered the electronic era.

According to U.S. press reports, the creation of the new channel of communications with intelligence consumers is just one of the many changes in the work of U.S. intelligence. It has to change—not only because of changes in technology, but primarily because of changes in the international situation.

As THE NEW YORK TIMES noted the other day, the U.S. intelligence community is going through a process of significant reorganization in connection with the end of the "cold war". Before, around 60 percent of its budget went to activities connected with combating the "Soviet threat." Now the U.S. ambassador in Moscow has possession of a diagram showing the network of listening devices installed in the new U.S. Embassy building. People from Moscow wearing visitors' badges have been seen in the FBI and CIA buildings, the paper claims.

In the past two years, the paper reports, the CIA has cut by two-thirds the number of specialists who in the past dealt with Soviet foreign policy and by one-fourth the number of arms experts. The "Soviet insurgent movement service" and "Soviet disinformation division" have been disbanded. The vacant wing of the CIA building has been occupied by the experts of the recently created Center for the Nonproliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction. There has been a significant reduction in expenditure on secret operations, which were conducted in the past chiefly against the USSR and the pro-Soviet regimes of Ethiopia, Angola, and Afghanistan.

At the same time, THE NEW YORK TIMES reports, the CIA does not consider that the agency's mission is over. "That problem has never existed," John Helgerson, CIA deputy director for intelligence information, said in an interview with a correspondent for the paper. "So many people are asking us about a multitude of things: about China, about Yugoslavia, about proliferation (of mass destruction weapons)—it is a growing industry."

Candidates for work in the CIA continue to be recruited at universities. Agency representatives engaged in recruiting new employees are now interested in a wider range of specialists. For example, they need people with managerial diplomas. They could, for example, extract the requisite intelligence information from intricate financial transactions. People with language skills are also needed.

With the disbandment of the USSR there is a heightened need for specialists with a knowledge of the republics' languages, particularly in the light of the "influx of materials which neither the CIA nor the State Department can cope with." They used to get by with Russian alone, but now they need Ukrainian and Azerbaijani and Uzbek. Asked whether it was difficult recruiting people to translate the republics' newspapers, an intelligence staffer replied: "To translate them? We do not even receive them."

College graduates, of course, are being invited not only to do analytical or translation work at Langley. The booklet which potential CIA employees are shown promises them the "adventure and unpredictability of secret service." "You might be summoned in the middle of the night or on a rainy Sunday morning, your festive dinner or your daughter's graduation ceremony might be interrupted. In an emergency an employee will leave his personal business and his cover job to meet with an agent in a corner of a deserted park, at a table in a cafe or in a safe house."

But, as some new CIA recruits frankly admit, they were attracted not so much by the adventures in the "spy movie" mold, as by the secure employment. "I chose the CIA because it provides good benefits. The government takes care of you," one of them said in a newspaper interview.

The U.S. intelligence community is preparing to raise the blinds somewhat on certain chapters from its past. To that end the CIA has set up an "openness" group, which could declassify millions of documents from its archives. Apparently, CIA chiefs will be addressing journalists, as officials of other departments.

The reorganization taking place in the CIA is evidently going to result in the transformation of the entire U.S. intelligence community. And, as is known, there are 10 or so special services in it.

According to one plan for restructuring the activities of the U.S. intelligence community—its author is David Boren, chairman of the Senate Committee on Intelligence—the director of central intelligence (head of the CIA) will be in charge of the activities of the majority of these special services and will be a kind of "intelligence overlord." He will manage the intelligence community budget, including the budget of the FBI counterintelligence service. He will have control of the National Security Agency, the satellite intelligence agency, the State Department bureau of intelligence and research, and even U.S. military attaches abroad.

D. Boren's plan has its opponents. As THE WASHINGTON TIMES notes, the amalgamation of such a wide range of special services at least eliminates a by no means useless element of competition. Some critics compare it to an attempt to "amalgamate the former Soviet KGB and GRU [General Staff Main Intelligence Directorate]." The former communist regimes, on the other hand, the paper writes, are following the road of strengthening checks and balances, by separating their special services. For instance, the Russian constitutional court recently opposed the amalgamation of the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry and the security service.

There has been nothing so far about the fate of the U.S. intelligence community budget, which is over $30 billion in the current fiscal year. Although, U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney did make a remark at the congressional hearings concerning the draft military budget for the new, 1993 fiscal year. "What can you say about the CIA draft budget?" members of Congress asked R. Cheney. "All I can say is that Bob Gates is happy," he replied.

Evidence on U.S. Prisoners Found in Archives

MK1102153092 Moscow KOMMERSANT in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by Yuriy Pankov: "U.S. Prisoners Found. In Gorbachev's Archive"]

[Text] At a news conference in Washington on 2 February, Boris Yeltsin promised to tackle the problem of U.S. POW's still listed as missing in the United States and presumed to have ended up in the Gulag (see KOMMERSANT No. 42, 50 1991).

The president instructed a group of analysts under the command of Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov to carry out his promise, putting the former USSR president's archives at their disposal. The first documentary confirmation has been found that there were U.S. prisoners in the Gulag.

The USSR presidential archive contained documents that were withdrawn at Mikhail Gorbachev's request from other archives (mainly from KGB archives). It is stored in the Moscow Kremlin.

KOMMERSANT'S correspondent found out that Volkogonov's people singled out from Mikhail Gorbachev's archives—which no longer belong to him—materials pertaining to the main anti-U.S. actions in the period 1945-1979. According to experts' evaluations, they are all from the Central Intelligence Service (the former USSR KGB First Main Directorate). Documents pertaining to U.S. prisoners have been found among them.

Dmitriy Volkogonov told KOMMERSANT's correspondent: "Four cases of U.S. prisoners dating back to World War II have been discovered in the archives. But they are not specific and contain no names. There is a problem. Since there were U.S. POW's in the Gulag in the forties, they were there later too. It is just unclear when they were there and how many there were. I received a sensational report that there were Americans in Kolyma and Tambov. We are checking this out, but cannot as yet find any documents."

However, KOMMERSANT's correspondent recently received an extract from a document dated May 1945 and stored in one of the Russian archives. It is quite possible that this is the first documentary evidence confirming the story that the Soviets were involved in the disappearance of U.S. soldiers.

Here is a quotation from a document: "To Major of State Security Comrade Yusichev, head of Camp No. 188 administration, Rada Station... All French, Alsatian, Luxembourg, U.S. and British POW's will be concentrated in your camp. In this connection, the USSR NKVD

GUPVI [expansion unknown] has instructed all POW camps to dispatch 2,500 POW's of the above nationalities to your camp within the month by passenger train escorted by special convoy....

"[Signed] Colonel of State Security Leshchuk, chief of Tambov Oblast UNKVD [expansion unknown], and Livshits, chief of Tambov Oblast NKVD OPVI [expansion unknown]."

Commenting on the fact that Americans were held in the Gulag in the forties, William F. Davnie, second secretary at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, admitted to KOMMERSANT's correspondent: "Nothing concrete is known about this in the United States. Just rumor. And Russia is still not responding to all official questions."

Gulag Records Examined

PM1202141192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by D. Babich: "Did 'Inturist' Start With the Gulag?"]

[Text] The search for documents connected with the fate of American POW's in Russia, which was begun at the request of 98 U.S. senators this January, has produced its first results. We were told by Gennadiy Chernobrovkin, assistant chairman of the parliamentary commission for the acceptance of the Dmitriy Volkogonov archives, that official correspondence has been found in the military archive between the chiefs of transit camps in Odessa, Tambov, and other cities—through which 22,555 U.S. POW's "transited" in 1945-1946. The POW's had been almost completely repatriated to the United States by late 1946.

Frenchmen, Belgians, and other military allies of ours were with the Americans in Tambov. All these people entered Russia from German camps from which they had been released by Soviet troops. Why was it necessary to take them to Russia instead of sending them to the West immediately? The archivists have not yet found the answer to that question. Just as they have not found the answer to another question which concerns the U.S. senators above all: What became of U.S. soldiers "missing in action" during the Korean and Vietnam Wars?

So far we will have to be satisfied with the requests from the leaders of the Tambov and Odessa camps to be issued white bread and new clothes for the "delicate" foreign camp residents.

Airlift to Commonwealth States Begins 10 Feb

PM1102161792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Aleksandr Sychev: "Aid Will Arrive Monday"]

[Text] It is now possible to inject some clarity into the contradictory reports about the scale of the humanitarian aid being given by the United States to Commonwealth of Independent States countries. A U.S. Embassy staffer in Moscow who is directly involved in organizing the supplies confirmed that the first stage of the aid program will start to be implemented 10 February.

On this date 12 U.S. Air Force transport aircraft (C-5's and C-141's) will fly in together with a cargo of food, medicines, and medical equipment. Five of them will start from Frankfurt am Main (FRG) where the depots that supplied U.S. forces during the Persian Gulf war are located; they will set course for Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, Minsk, and Chisinau [Kishinev]. The remaining aircraft will fly from Turkey to Yerevan, Ashkhabad, Dushanbe, Alma-Ata, Baku, Tashkent, and Bishkek. Personnel of the Russian section of the international Salvation Army organization have undertaken to distribute the first consignment of aid.

The operation is scheduled to take two weeks. During this time 54 runs will be made, one-half of which will be to various Russian cities. Small operational teams from the United States are already working at all the cargo destinations; in cooperation with the local authorities they have designated specific addressees for the aid: hospitals, schools, and old people's homes.

The only republic where no aid deliveries are currently planned is Georgia. The U.S. Embassy staffer I talked with assumed that this decision by Washington was most probably dictated by the unstable situation prevailing there.

My interlocutor said that great significance was being given to the fact that humanitarian aid has started. The United States is demonstrating its readiness to support the young democracy in the Commonwealth states.

"Humanitarian aid does not solve your problems," he said. "The main work still lies ahead, and the scale of this task is currently being determined by experts."

WGF General Says FRG 'Should Pay' Costs

LD1102221392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] The cost of the real estate belonging to the Western Group of Forces [WGF] in Germany is 10.5 billion deutschmarks. According to the Group's commander in chief, Colonel-General Matvey Burlakov, the FRG government should pay exactly this sum in compensation.

Armed Iranians Detained by Border Guards

LD1202134692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1135 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Znamenskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Feb (TASS)—Five Iranian citizens armed with automatic rifles and grenades were detained on Tuesday [11 February] at a post of the Serakhs border unit of the Central Asian border district. ITAR-TASS was informed by the Committee for Guarding the State Border that the operation to detain the armed group was organized and carried out by Captain Gennadiy Khludkov, head of the guard post. The servicemen's actions took the border violators so much by surprise that they had no time to resist. Four sacks confiscated when the group was detained were found to contain 60 million Iranian rials. The aims and plans of the uninvited guests are being investigated by the competent bodies.

Commonwealth

Working Group Resumes Meeting at Military Base

LD1202122592 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By BELTA correspondents Vladimir Glod and Leonid Tratsevskiy]

[Text] Minsk February 12 TASS—The working group of the Commonwealth, which is working out documents for the upcoming meeting of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] heads of state and government, resumed its closed-door session in Minsk on Wednesday [12 February]. The curtain of secrecy over the group's work has become even more stronger, as the group moved the seat of the meeting from the centre of Minsk to a closed military settlement outside the Belarussian capital.

Organisational issues were in the focus of discussions on Tuesday [11 February]. Today the group is working on documents of the CIS Supreme Military Command. There are supposingly 14 documents, which define the powers of the supreme defence bodies of independent states, the legal grounds of the Armed Forces activities, the interim military charters, the united military budget, etc. It became known that delegations of several independent states also brought their draft military documents to Minsk.

Preliminary Information

LD1202172992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] The preliminary program for the meeting of Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] leaders, which is to take place on 14 February, has become known to INTERFAX correspondents. The arrival of the participants in the capital of Belarus is expected by 1700 [1500 GMT] tomorrow, 13 February. The official meeting is planned for 1100 on 14 February.

Experts from the CIS Armed Forces, as is known, are currently working in Minsk. Therefore, INTERFAX correspondents are assuming that the financing and setting of the budget for the Armed Forces and the legal basis for the activities and the social protection of servicemen and their families will be discussed at the meeting.

According to unofficial information, this very question of the Armed Forces may be postponed and not considered at this meeting on 14 February. In any case all of this information is very preliminary. Taking into account the experience of the previous summit meetings, experts think that the discussion may drag on.

The opinion is being expressed that the unofficial meeting previously planned between the presidents of Russia and the Ukraine will not take place. However, the possibility of a meeting between the heads of the delegations from Belarus, Kazakhstan and the Ukraine, aimed at drawing up a united position with regard to Russia's proposal on nuclear disarmament, is not excluded.

Agenda Disclosed

OW1202182492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1724 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpt] INTERFAX received information on the preliminary agenda for the meeting of the leaders of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] nations set for February 14 in Minsk.

The participants are expected to arrive in the Belarussian capital February 13 at 17.00 local time.

The official meeting is scheduled for February 14 at 11.00. Experts expect the leaders will discuss just one issue—the military forces of the CIS. In particular the financing and formation of a military budget will be discussed, as well as the function of the military and insurance of members of the military and their families.

A press conference is set for February 14 at 13.30. One half hour has been set aside for it.

The leaders will depart following an official 2 hour lunch.

Judging by previous meetings, experts believe the meeting may be drawn out longer than planned.[passage omitted]

Agreement 'Must Be Worked Out'

PM1202142792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Nikolay Matukovskiy: "More Questions Than Answers at Present"]

[Text] Minsk—A conference of military ministers of the Commonwealth countries began in Minsk 11 February. Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov is also participating in it with a group of experts. The ministers are "working out" the agenda for the conference of heads of state and heads of government.

It would be premature to speak for sure about what is "cooking in the talks cauldron."

The future agreements, say, on the powers of the top organs of the Commonwealth states—the Councils of Heads of State and of Heads of Government and the council of military ministers for questions of defense—do not present any special difficulties. But the concretization of these problems harbors many underwater mines.

One such question is the decision by the heads of state on the main command of the CIS [Commonwealth of

Independent States] Armed Forces. For unified armed forces still do not exist, and they must be legitimated. At present there is only an accord on the existence of the strategic forces. What will their status be, if they belong to Russia but are on the territory of Ukraine or Belarus? What must their relations be with the republic armies?... A clear-cut agreement must be worked out right now.

Having gotten carried away with dividing up the Army and the fleets, the CIS states have relaxed attention to the Army's social position. In connection with the reduction which has already begun in the Army and the withdrawal of military units from Germany and the Baltic countries, life is becoming hell for officers—neither an apartment nor work. Therefore agreements by the CIS heads of state on social and legal guarantees for servicemen are awaited with great interest. Will the military ministers manage to find at least preliminary concord? If everything remains as before, the situation in the army will become unpredictable.

The other questions that the military ministers have to examine are not simple either. Forming a single defense budget of the CIS countries, drawing up new military regulations—all this has to be begun right from scratch.

Attitudes Toward Military Noted

LD1202152492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In Minsk, about 100 top Army command staff experts are preparing documents for the upcoming meeting of Commonwealth presidents. Marshal Shaposhnikov himself is supervising the drafting of the military documents.

As you know, the focal issue today is the maintenance of the Army and its very prospects for existence. The Army today is effectively paid for by Russia. Even after cuts in weapons purchases, the costs are awesome. Some republics are prepared to pay only for their own army; others think Russia should bear any extra costs because the army in the republics defends the strategic interests primarily of Russia; and others still would prefer to instill some decisive clarity into the money issue, proposing bilateral defense treaties instead of a CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] army. Under this kind of approach, Russia should pay if it wants to defend itself, its allies think. We hope to get a report with details of what is happening in Minsk by this evening.

Spokesman on Issues

LD1202180792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Excerpts] The Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] working group conference resumed in Minsk today. [passage omitted]

A meeting of the defense ministers of the CIS countries has also taken place there. Speaking after the meeting, a Belarussian spokesman said that his country could not sign a majority of the documents which were prepared at the meeting. The Azerbaijani side intends on 14 February to raise the question of full withdrawal from Stepanakert by former Soviet Army sub-units. The fate of weapons was not mentioned in this report by the DR-press agency.

Armed Forces 'Might Collapse'

OW1202131792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1055 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Political scientist Maj.-Gen. Vladimir Dudnik has acknowledged the existence of considerable differences on military matters among the Commonwealth member states. He warned that, unless these differences were narrowed at next Friday's [14 February] CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] summit in Minsk, the "artificially united CIS Armed Forces" might collapse.

Asked by IF [INTERFAX] to predict the possible outcome of the pending top-level meeting in Minsk, Dudnik observed that continuing differences on military development might cause the Russian Federation to follow the example set by other ex-Soviet republics and speed up the formation of its own armed forces and Defense Ministry.

Commenting on the future of the Black Sea Fleet, a major stumbling block in Russo-Ukrainian relations, the general said that the problem could only be settled by reviewing the existing strategic concepts and radically restructuring the Fleet.

Armed Forces 'Keystone'

LD1202170292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Kebich, the prime minister of Belarus, has declared that the question of the Armed Forces is the keystone of our fragile Commonwealth. According to him, if the leaders of the republics fail at their conference in Minsk on Friday, 14 February, to find acceptable solutions on financing the Army and on the future structure of the Armed Forces, then the question of the Commonwealth's existence in the future will be extremely problematic. Today, however, work was under way in Minsk to prepare for the forthcoming meeting:

[Correspondent A. Zhuk] The meeting of the Commonwealth working group is proceeding behind closed doors. As yet journalists are not being allowed in to the military section, where around 100 people are assembled. The ministers of defense, or the chairmen of the relevant committees of the Commonwealth member states, and

military experts are in conference here. With them there is the commander in chief of the unified CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov.

[I.M. Korotchen, coordinator of Commonwealth working group] Painstaking work is under way in order somehow to unite all these sorts of nuances which have been drawn up locally by the governments of the republics into a unified whole, what can be unified, that is; and to draw up a single document for the heads of states to discuss and sign.

[Zhuk] All the heads of state and heads of government of the Commonwealth countries are preparing for the Minsk meeting in the most paintaking way. Incidentally, the prime minister of the Republic of Belarus, Vyacheslav Kebich, has visited one of the military units of the Belarus Military District.

[Kebich] I have come in order to draw up my own approaches, the government's approaches to the further fate of the Army.

Sigua Hopes To Attend Meeting

LD1202214292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2032 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Tengiz Sigua, the head of the provisional government of Georgia, will have meetings in Moscow with the leaders of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], according to reports from Tbilisi. He will be the first Georgian representative of that rank to take part in the work of the Commonwealth heads of state as an observer.

[In an interview with Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2025 GMT on 11 February, Sigua says the following concerning the upcoming CIS summit: "On 14 February in Minsk there will be a gathering of the heads of the CIS member states. If we receive an invitation to it, we intend to go there because issues of a military nature will be examined—that is the establishment of a code for the individual republics and the interests of the republic of Georgia are considerably affected. Our representatives will be present at that conference as well."]

Ukraine Rejects Drafts

LD1202215592 Moscow TASS in English 1937 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By BELTA-ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Glod and Leonid Tratsevskiy]

[Text] Minsk February 12 TASS—The participants of the Minsk meeting of the Commonwealth working group on the preparation for the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government, have not yet managed to reach an agreement on the composition, controlling bodies and republican quotas in the Commonwealth Armed Forces.

The Ukrainian delegation refused to sign drafts of the documents on this issue. According to representatives of some republics, the united Armed Forces of the Commonwealth can be patterned on the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces, with sovereign states placing part of their own armed forces under the united command.

When discussing the issue on the council of defense ministers (chairmen of defense committees), some delegates insisted that decisions of this council should be of a consultative or recommendatory character. A sovereign state will choose only those recommendations which suit it best and do not infringe on its people's interests.

Commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth Armed Forces, Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, was not present at the morning session of the meeting.

'Independent Army Concept' Backed

LD1302003592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2045 GMT 12 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Minsk, 12 February—On February 12 the group for preparation of the meeting of CIS state and government leaders managed to discuss only several drafts from the 12-document package at its session at Kolodischi Army Base near Minsk. The discussed documents, in particular, included the regulations on social insurance and civil rights of retired military servicemen regulations on the authorities of state leaders in defense issues regulations on the council of defense ministers of the Commonwealth and several other documents.

Virtually at once the draft regulation on the authorities of the Commonwealth Armed Forces supreme military bodies was revoked from further discussion. Leonid Privalov, deputy chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet's standing commission on national security, defense and crime, told PF [POSTFACTUM] that none of the representatives of the CIS Armed Forces commandment was able to explain to him what are the CIS united armed forces.

For this reason Privalov concluded that Moscow does not have any clear concepts of this issue itself. He also believes that the documents submitted for discussion do not express the existent situation as they do not clarify the positions of the states urging for the forming of their own armies and others currently overlooking this problem. In the words of Privalov, the session has been rather poorly organized. He assumed that over such a short period it would be difficult to discuss the whole package of documents in details. It would make far more sense to draft a single fundamental law and equip it with the basic solution of all military issues.

As long as the Russian delegation did not take part in the session Ukrainian representatives led by Deputy Defense Minister Lieutenant-General Ivan Bizhan seized the inarguable leadership. In the support of the independent army concept they were backed by Belarus, Moldova and Azerbaijan. The latter's policy made the Armenian delegation review its position, originally that of support to the unity of armed forces. Participant of the session, Colonel- General Boris Gromov, stated that the currently discussed package of documents specifies the details while paramount issues will be considered at the February 14 meeting. This meeting will be determined to solve the problems of Armed Forces in a civilized way. We are against the embezzlement of Armed Forces but if the situation does not let us save them united the way of separation should also be civilized .

Shaposhnikov To Give News Conference

OW1302120592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1048 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to reports from Belarus, the Commonwealth summit in Minsk on Friday [14 February] will discuss only defence matters. IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent quotes well-informed sources as saying that time might run out before the planned economic questions will be reached.

On Thursday [13 February] CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] experts continue to discuss problems related to the defence programs of the Commonwealth. There seem to be serious differences.

They might be clarified at the Thursday news conference of Marshal Shaposhnikov, the Commander-in-Chief of the CIS armed forces. He will speak of the results of the Minsk meeting of Commonwealth defence ministers. On Wednesday [12 February] he flew from Minsk to Moscow to consult the Russian leadership on the division of military property.

Meanwhile, in Moscow Galina Starovoytova, an aide of the Russian president, has said that "the process of talks between CIS heads of state will be quite complicated and its outcome might be quite different from the desired". At a consultative meeting of public organizations of servicemen she disclosed that on the second day of the summit President Yeltsin is expected to hold bilateral talks with several leaders, primarily Leonid Kravchuk. The possible subject of discussion might be the use of the funds offered by Germany for the settlement of withdrawing Soviet servicemen. The Ukraine and Belarus are interested in the money because 18-20% of the officers from the Soviet contingent in Germany are Ukrainians. Among the documents to be signed in Minsk Galina Starovoytova named the regulations concerning the status of servicemen of the CIS Armed Forces.

'Transitional Period' Needed

PM1302114792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Feb 92 p 1

[Report by correspondents Colonel P. Chernenko and Captain Second Rank O. Odnokolenko: "On Eve of Minsk Meeting: Even Before Discussion, Military Questions Acquiring Special Urgency"]

[Text] The conference of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] working group which is preparing the ground for the meeting of the CIS heads of state in Minsk on 14 February began work at Kolodishchi near Minsk on 11 February. Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, and the defense ministers, chairmen of defense committees, and military experts from the CIS countries are taking part in the conference. The only absentees at the moment are the representatives of Uzbekistan, who have been delayed by bad weather.

Unfortunately, the conference is being held behind closed doors and journalists have not been allowed access there at the moment. It is presumed that the agenda of the CIS heads of state meeting will include around 20 questions, the majority of them military. There will be a discussion of draft laws and agreements on defense, military doctrine, the social protection of servicemen and their families, the reduction of the Armed Forces, and so forth.

Clearly it will not be easy to resolve these questions since on many problems the heads of states have their own, sometimes diametrically opposed, opinions.

As Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov stated, he was and remains a supporter of the balanced approach to military problems and considers that a 2-3 year transitional period is needed to resolve all the questions connected with the Armed Forces. However, the commander in chief refrained from making a prediction on the results of the CIS heads of state meeting.

Meanwhile, addressing officers and noncommissioned officers of the Rogachev Motorized Rifle Division 11 February at Uruchye, where they are stationed, V. Kebich, chairman of the Republic of Belarus Council of Ministers, promised officers reliable social protection and pension provision. According to his statement, the republic must have its own army, and all the property of the Belarussian Military District belongs to Belarus. With the exception of strategic weapons, of course.

Expressing the government's viewpoint, Vyacheslav Kebich stated that after reduction the Belarus Army will number no more than 80,000 men. It is planned to reduce one division a year since a larger reduction would be too costly. He also expressed the intention to halt wholesale conversion and to support defense plants in every way. The military hardware which they produce is planned to be sold. Otherwise, the prime minister stated, we will not be able to survive.

It has become clear that recently Belarus' position on the creation of a nuclear-free zone within the republic's borders has been changing radically. No one is going to talk with a nonnuclear power, Kebich stated at the meeting with servicemen. There was no comment on that statement.

Position Stated With 'Reluctance'

LD1302123392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] It was still dark when the military affairs experts of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] countries started work. This is their third day of work. Their work must answer the question: Will the military issue, as has been predicted, be a stumbling block at the meeting of the CIS heads of state here in Minsk on 14 February?

Twelve main issues were submitted for discussion by the military experts of the CIS countries. Of them particularly urgent debate surrounded the draft agreements put forward by the General Staff on forming a single military budget for the CIS; on the law and order bodies of the CIS Armed Forces; the agreement between the Russian Federation and the other republics on the legal status and the procedure for the withdrawal of the former USSR Armed Forces which are temporarily on the territory of other countries; the status of the Commonwealth's strategic forces; the system for training military cadres; social and legal guarantees for servicemen and their families; and a protocol of intent in defense matters. Also submitted were alternative drafts from the Ukrainian delegation which retained its own stance on certain matters of principle.

The military, with one eye on the position of Commander in Chief Shaposhnikov, state their own position with great reluctance, stressing that their decisions are of a preliminary nature and are the proposals which tomorrow will be on the table of the CIS leaders. It is up to them to make the decisions. However, as stated by deputy Leonid Privalov, head of the Belarussian delegation, the military have been able to overcome their complex of psychological mistrust and suspicion. Will the politicians be able to surmount this barrier tomorrow?

Discussion Ends

LD1302122492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By BELTA correspondent Vladimir Glod and TASS correspondent Leonid Tratsevskiy]

[Text] Minsk, 13 Feb (TASS)—The discussion of 90 percent of the package of proposals submitted by the high command of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] Armed Forces has ended at the conference of the working group for the organizational and technical groundwork and holding sessions of the CIS Council of the Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Governments.

During the conference the participants managed to work out the positions on practically all of the 14 draft documents submitted. Among them are proposals on social and legal guarantees for servicemen, as well as for individuals made redundant from military service and for their families; on the powers of the supreme bodies of the sovereign states with regard to defense issues; on a council of ministers of defense (of chairmen of the committees for defense), and others.

The content of the agreed drafts has not yet been made public, but the information obtained by BELTA correspondents allows us to conclude that agreement has not been reached on many of the questions discussed.

After the entire package of documents has been agreed upon, they will be initialed by the ministers of defense and the chairmen of the committees for defense affairs, and submitted to the heads of the CIS states, who will gather in Minsk tomorrow. The experts propose refraining from discussion of some drafts at summit level for reasons of a technical nature. They will evidently become the subject of further discussions.

Morozov 'Active' in Dialogue

LD1302124192 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 13 Feb 92

The Ukraine's defense minister, Konstantin Morozov, was today one of the most active participants of a dialogue between the heads of the analagous departments of the member countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the commander in chief of its Armed Forces, Marshal Shaposhnikov. Lieutenant General Ivan Bizhan, who heads the expert group of the Ukraine's Defense Ministry on determining the structure of strategic forces of the Commonwealth on the territory of our republic [rank and title as heard], said in an interview that the Ukraine is consistently striving for the status of a nuclear-free zone in the future. He also pointed out that the meeting decided to (?tend accord) on the lists of the major strategic forces which temporarily remain on the territory of the Ukraine. These are strategic missile units and strategic aviation, as well as systems and facilities for their servicing, whereas the main units of anti-aircraft defense will be part of the Ukraine's armed forces.

'Difficult Moments' Viewed

LD1302144292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Report by correspondents Vera Shchelkunova and Petr Makritskiy from Minsk; from the "Panorama" program—passages in quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Makritskiy] Good day. Well, I'll start. I am Petr Makritskiy. Preparations for the [Commonwealth of

Independent States—CIS] summit are coming to an end. According to preliminary reports, the leaders of 13 Commonwealth countries arrive today, and Leonid Kravchuk, president of the Ukraine, arrives tomorrow.

Of late, there have been too many gloomy forecasts. There have even been rumors of the meeting being postponed to a later date. I spoke this morning to Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus, and asked him whether in his opinion there would be difficult moments at the talks.

[Shushkevich] "I would say that there have to be some because the transformations are serious and decisive, and it is impossible to expect unanimity. We can be sure that there will be difficult moments, but I am convinced that the level of contact and the level of preliminary preparation, and indeed the experience of conducting such meetings will enable these difficult moments, by means of talks, worthy talks, by means of partitioning of some kind, if they do not solve anything on the 14th, they will map out the ways to solve things in the near future." [sentence as heard]

[Shchelkunova] Without a doubt, one of the most difficult moments is the military issue. As you know, a conference of defense ministers and military experts has taken place here. As soon as it was over, Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, and the ministers headed for the military airfield near Minsk to look at aircraft on the ground and in flight. Naturally we went there too. Excuse all these details, but I want you to understand and to forgive the quality of the recording. There was too much radio interference at the airfield. A question for Marshal Shaposhnikov: Did the military manage to reach agreement?

[Shaposhnikov] "At our level we did.

[Shchelkunova] "On all points?

[Shaposhnikov] "On all points, and people need to calm down a little. There are a great many questions about this at the moment, that such and such has not been agreed on, that we have come up against a brick wall. There is no brick wall. All 13 agreements that were submitted were discussed and they were all agreed on.

[Shchelkunova] "Even the Black Sea Fleet?

[Shaposhnikov] "No, because we did not discuss the Black Sea Fleet. That is not our prerogative; it is a political decision. I see the Black Sea Fleet as a CIS Fleet with a specific part of it assigned to Ukraine.

[Shchelkunova] "Did the Ukrainian minister agree to this?

[Shaposhnikov] "We've reached an understanding."

Military

Most Officers Favor United Doctrine, Strategy

LD1302121492 Moscow TASS in English 1043 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Most career officers want the Commonwealth heads of state to adopt a united military doctrine and nuclear strategy at their meeting to be held on Friday [14 February] in Minsk, TASS learned on Thursday [13 February] from the Military and Sociological Research Centre of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, which conducted a poll in all arms and services of the Armed Forces.

The overwhelming majority of officers support the creation of general purpose armed forces and the CIS strategic forces. They belive the former should be also subordinated to the CIS Supreme Command.

67 per cent of respondents support the idea of dividing the Armed Forces of the former Soviet Union into the CIS Armed Forces and republican armies, according to the poll. Only 8 per cent of officers believe strategic components shold be added to the republican armies.

Half of the respondents said the CIS Supreme Command should engage in training military personnel. The draft to the Armed Forces should be both obligatory and contractual, or only on the contract basis, most officers hold.

Shaposhnikov Against 'Sharing' Army Out

PM1302112192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Feb 92 p 3

[Interview with Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, by LE FIGARO, in Paris, date not stated: "Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov: 'I Support a Transitional Period'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] When in Paris during the Russian leader's official state visit to France, Marshal Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, gave an interview to the newspaper LE FIGARO. We are publishing that interview based on the text of the transcript given to the editorial office by the service of the CIS Armed Forces commander in chief.

[LE FIGARO] Did your conversations with French Defense Ministry representatives enable you to reach any specific decisions on security matters?

[Shaposhnikov] We confirmed the foundations of the bilateral agreement that France and the Soviet Union signed in September 1991. But our military cooperation will no longer be confined solely to meetings between ministers. Starting in March our officer cadets who are

studying at military academies will come here on training courses, and French soldiers will join our academies. This is very important for mutual understanding. We barely know one another and have spent some considerable time on a mutual assessment.

[LE FIGARO] Were you able to reassure French leaders on nuclear weapons?

[Shaposhnikov] My French counterparts are very anxious about nuclear weapons control problems. We clearly told them who is responsible for this. I repeat: The control of strategic nuclear weapons is effective and reliable. It is in one pair of hands.

[LE FIGARO] The Russian president's?

[Shaposhnikov] Yes. As for tactical nuclear weapons, they are not about to disappear. Nobody is about to hand over nuclear weapons to the highest bidder. We are not crazy yet; we are well aware of the dangers that exist.

[LE FIGARO] You were clearly somewhat guarded in your attitude toward the French offers of help in storing and destroying these types of weapons.

[Shaposhnikov] A distinction must be drawn. When somebody offers us help in protecting and storing tactical weapons and organizing their transport to Russia, we are rather surprised, because we have a wealth of experience of our own in this field. We have already withdrawn quite a few missiles from East Europe and the Baltic. We can handle this complex matter ourselves. There can be no helpers in this delicate matter.

On the other hand, we are willing to cooperate in recycling the plutonium from the nuclear warheads for civilian purposes.

[LE FIGARO] Do you support Francois Mitterrand's proposal of a conference of the four major nuclear powers?

[Shaposhnikov] Definitely. We are willing to discuss a large-scale reduction of nuclear weapons. Anytime.

[LE FIGARO] On 14 February you will be attending a meeting crucial to the former Red Army's future. What do you expect from this meeting? Are you not worried about the demands of certain republics such as Kazakhstan, which insist on the right to veto the use of the nuclear button?

[Shaposhnikov] I myself have not read the whole of the Kazakh statement, I know only the account I have seen in the press. So I remain somewhat cautious. Because some statements have been distorted by our press before.

[LE FIGARO] Other acute problems will be broached in Minsk. The question of the "nationalization" of the defense systems by various republics, the sharing out of the former Red Army, for example...

[Shaposhnikov] I am against sharing the Army out. I am also opposed to its nationalization and privatization. But I cannot ignore the will of the independent states. If these states want to divide the Army and if they have the corresponding laws in place, then I must take note of this and find a solution to this complex situation.

So my position is this: to move toward creating independent armies, but without haste. I am in favor of a transitional period in which the new states which so desire could gradually lay the foundations for new armies, establish their defense ministries, and identify which officers do not want to serve there so that other CIS countries could accept and station them. But all this must done without impugning people's honor and dignity.

[LE FIGARO] Some have not waited—such as the Ukraine, which is already creating its own armed forces right now...

[Shaposhnikov] The Ukraine began resolving this task back in September. It has a whole heap of laws on defense. The only thing I would not do if I were in its leaders' place would be to oblige officers to swear allegiance to Ukraine.

[LE FIGARO] Why not?

[Shaposhnikov] To avoid traumatizing them. Even during the 1917 revolution, when part of the Czarist Army was merged with the ranks of the Red Army, the state's leaders did not demand that a new oath be taken by those who had already done military service.

[LE FIGARO] Will the Black Sea Fleet be divided up?

[Shaposhnikov] When speaking about the Ukraine's potential navy, it is necessary to see clearly what its tasks will be. In my view, such a fleet should serve to protect the coasts of the Ukrainian state, to combat smuggling... All these functions could be performed by some 20 percent of the present Black Sea Fleet.

The rest should belong to the CIS and defend its strategic interests.

[LE FIGARO] At the height of the controversy Yeltsin said that the Fleet will be Russia's...

[SHaposhnikov] True, he did say that once, but that really was in the heat of debate at rallies. But then we went to the Fleet together before leaving for the United States. During this visit an officer asked Boris Nikolayevich whether his presence there reflected a desire to affiliate the Fleet to Russia. Yeltsin replied that the Fleet must belong to the Commonwealth as an operational-strategic formation, and that all the presidents, not just Kravchuk and Yeltsin, must be entitled to visit the Black Sea Fleet whenever they want. He is right. All the republics helped to finance the Fleet, not just the Ukraine!

[LE FIGARO] Do you not see a worrying contradiction between the desire of a number of republics and the

mood of servicemen? At the Kremlin meeting last month the military clearly showed that it wants to preserve unified [yedinyy] forces.

[Shaposhnikov] Some of our officers, unfortunately, still do not know where we are, what time we are living in, in which country. They think that they are still living in the unified Soviet Union.

These people are agreed on putting political pressures on the presidents, using tough methods and the language of ultimatums. I am against this. The presidents are elected by the people. By issuing ultimatums to them the Army would actually be issuing ultimatums to the people whom it is supposed to serve. That could end very badly. I am categorically against such ultimatums.

I regret that some members of the military support such an approach. Fortunately they are a minority.

[LE FIGARO] What will happen in a year's time, if their social problems and problems of status are not resolved?

[Shaposhnikov] I think that we are going through the most difficult period now.

[LE FIGARO] But is it not dangerous to permit—and even encourage—the army's entry into politics, as was done at that meeting at the Kremlin? By his presence there, Boris Yeltsin seemed to be legitimizing it...

[Shaposhnikov] No, this was not encouragement. It was B.N. Yeltsin's desire to understand the Army's problems in greater depth. I would have preferred all the presidents to have been there. It would have enabled many problems to be resolved and would have eased the tension. But the presidents, who met just before, preferred to delegate Yeltsin and Nazarbayev.

I must say that Boris Nikolayevich was worried about this meeting of officers. For my part, I thought there could be extreme suggestions, but I did not believe there was a danger of the situation's getting out of control. The establishment of a coordinating council of officers is a good thing. This council works in close coordination with the main command of the Armed Forces and officers' collectives.

[LE FIGARO] Is it not autonomous?

[Shaposhnikov] Of course not! However, during the transition period that we envisage it will perform its own role, will collect information about the mood and the situation in the Armed Forces, and offer suggestions on resolving the most acute questions. The Army does not have a single social organization capable of resolving all the problems. However much they criticize the leadership, our subordinates always take their questions to that leadership, which is required to resolve all questions in conjunction with the public.

[LE FIGARO] Why is there still no law on social protection for servicemen in Russia?

[Shaposhnikov] There are such laws. Admittedly, the Ukraine is ahead of other states because it has started building its own armed forces. But Russia is not creating its own army yet. Do not forget that six republics are agreed on maintaining unified forces—Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Armenia.

[LE FIGARO] You mentioned the possibility of establishing a CIS intervention force to halt ethnic conflicts, as in Karabakh...

[Shaposhnikov] I believe this could be useful for stopping bloodshed. The proof of this is that there is already talk of sending UN peacekeeping forces to Karabakh. I must say, however, that I do not much like this idea. Can we not resolve this conflict ourselves? It would be possible to envisage a contingent that would be not under the Main Command's control but under that of the CIS heads of state.

[LE FIGARO] Is the CIS a fiction, or will it endure?

[Shaposhnikov] I think it will.

[LE FIGARO] Where will the Armed Forces withdrawing from the Baltics go?

[Shaposhnikov] The withdrawal will take a long time and will be accompanied by a reduction in military strength. We also hope that Boris Yeltsin's promises of help to the military will be honored... You know, I dream that some day we will at last have armed forces that no longer have to worry about accommodation, food, and clothing. If the state needs the army then the state's duty is to look after that army.

Navy Command Refuses To Dismiss Kasatanov

LD1202135492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] The Supreme Command of the Commonwealth of Independent States Navy has refused to satisfy the demand of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk to dismiss Admiral Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet. The Supreme Command's statement says the admiral is honorably fulfilling his duties and occupies an uncompromising position regarding the fate of the Black Sea Fleet.

Social & Political

Strike Threatened Unless Economy Stabilizes

LD1202193292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] The interregional Exchange Union is threatening the governments of the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States with a strike if they fail to take measures to stabilize economic activity. Members of the union are 200 largest exchanges on the territory of 14 republics of the former USSR. In its statement, the union

points to ruinous taxes and artificial barriers hampering the organization of production and trade and movement of commodities and capital. It says it is necessary to conclude treaties among the states on a single economic space.

Dictatorship Viewed as Possible Alternative

OW1302055692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0538 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the DATA news agency, a January opinion poll by the National Public Opinion Studies Center among 1597 respondents in Russia, 517 in the Ukraine and 240 in Kazakhstan showed that the idea of dictatorship as the only way out of the present crisis is popular most of all in Russia (24%). In Kazakhstan supporters of dictatorship make up 22%, in Ukraine - 15%.

At the same time, 57% of those polled in the Ukraine, 47% in Russia and 31% in Kazakhstan fear a return to dictatorship.

Kravchuk Named as 'Politician of the Month'

LD1202100592 Moscow TASS in English 0743 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—In January Russia's future was influenced more by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, than any other politician, according to an opinion poll, conducted by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

Thirty-nine per cent of those polled named Kravchuk as January's politician of the month. 23 per cent preferred Russian President Boris Yeltsin and 13 - Kazakhstan's leader Nursultan Nazarbayev.

Four fifth of respondents characterised Kravchuk's influence on Russia as negative—39 per cent believe it is "somewhat negative" and 44 per cent said it was "outright negative".

In contrast seventy per cent of Russians approved of Yeltsin's policies. Ninety per cent of those who named Nazarbayev January's politician of the month praised his performance.

Media

TASS Carries Press Review for 13 Feb

LD1302065892 Moscow TASS in English 0528 GMT 13 Feb 92

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Defence issues will be high on the agenda of the Commonwealth summit, scheduled for Friday [14 February] in Minsk, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes today, adding that Commonwealth leaders are expected to discuss some 20 issues, most of which are related to military problems.

The sides will discuss draft defence agreements, military doctrines, social protection for servicemen, arms cuts and other issues. "There will be no fast and easy solution for most problems because heads of state have contrasting views on many issues," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA says.

Commonwealth Armed Forces Commander Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov has told the newspaper that he supports a measured approach to defence issues. At least two or three years are needed to resolve Army problems, he said.

"Who will the Army belong to?" TRUD wonders, commenting on the forthcoming summit. As a result of political demarches by republican presidents the Armed Forces of the former USSR no longer belong to any state. Heads of state should decide the Army's future, it says.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an interview with Deputy Commander of the Transcaucasian Military District Lieutenant General S. Beppayev. The troops are in a state of siege, observing neutrality in the Azeri-Armenian conflict, he said, warning that the force's patience is running out. When Russian men stay in the barracks and are spread with fire from all types of modern weapons, they will retaliate. However, the troops are now keeping their nerve, he said.

Former Russian presidential candidate Aman Tuleyev has resigned as Kemerovo Region council chairman in protest over the government's economic policy, which he said condemns the people to poverty. Eighty per cent of people in Kuzbass are living in poverty due to spiralling prices, he said, adding "I do not want to preside over the implementation of a soulless, immoral policy."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA runs a feature article about Russian Vice- President Aleksandr Rutskoy. A colourful and striking figure, the Russian vice-president, who have left a mark in people's minds with a series of profound statements in the press, has returned to political work, it writes.

"Apparently, Rutskoy was invited for the role of vice-president in order to convince the military and 'good' Communists to vote for Yeltsin. After Yeltsinists won, it looked as if the Moor had done his duty and must go. However, and this was a great surprise for Yeltsin's traditional entourage, Rutskoy refused to comply. He tried to play his own game, and lost," the newspaper says.

Career diplomat Yuliy Vorontsov, 62, will probably replace Andrey Kozyrev as Russia's foreign minister, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reports, citing Yeltsin's aides. Kozyrev will become Russia's envoy at the United Nations, it says.

The Russian Government marks its first jubilee today: Exactly one hundred days ago Yegor Gaydar's team began economic reforms, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes. During these 100 days the government has succeeded in shattering the Soviet people's illusions about a triumphal entry into a market economy by special passes, it adds.

Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy writes in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA about democratic reforms in Russia.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA comments U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's tour of Commonwealth republics. "The secretary of state has given more attention to our affairs, than to his (country's) affairs," it says. He was accompanied by airplanes with humanitarian aid. It's just the time for photo opportunities against the background of humanitarian aid for Baker—the U.S. Administration is on a campaign trail.

International Affairs

Vorontsov May Be Appointed Foreign Minister

LD1302084992 Moscow TASS in English 0651 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS—Moscow TASS in English at 0745 GMT on 13 February kills the following item]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Career diplomat Yuliy Vorontsov might be appointed new Russian foreign minister, the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper reported on Thursday [13 February], quoting sources close to President Boris Yeltsin. Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev will be appointed Russian ambassador to the United Nations, according to the newspaper.

In President Yeltsin's opinion this change of leaders will not mean a change in Russian foreign policy, the newspaper added.

Yeltsin Denies Vorontsov, Kozyrev Shuffle

OW1302122192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1048 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Yeltsin has flatly denied rumors about the appointment of the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev the Russian ambassador at the United Nations. Speaking in parliament he stressed that Kozyrev remains Foreign Minister.

He also said that on Wednesday [12 February] he had a two-hour meeting with Vice President Aleksander Rutskoy which took place "in a constructive spirit with due understanding of each others' positions". The vice president showed understanding for the actions of the president, parliament and government. He will be in charge of the land reform.

The president told MPs [members of parliament] that the cabinet session today will discuss the first results of the economic reform. He spoke for activating the economic policy, but admitted the necessity of improving it. It is necessary to spur the land reform and strengthen social security. Yeltsin's TV appearance on February 19 will deal with the progress of the reforms. The president voiced readiness to cooperate with MPs, the parliament and all political forces supporting the reforms.

Answering a question whether he attributes the demonstrators against price hikes in Moscow last Sunday [9 February] to the red-brown plague President Yeltsin stressed that by the plague he meant the leaders of several parties and movements "advocating the restoration of the old totalitarian order".

French Trip Focuses on Importance of Self-Help

PM1102163592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Feb 92 First Edition p 2

[Commentary by Vladimir Kuznechevskiy: "Home from France in Triumph?"]

[Text] What did the Russian president bring with him from Paris? A treaty on cooperation, state-guaranteed credits to the value of 3.5 billion francs, mainly directed toward aid of a humanitarian nature, and approximately 15 agreements. But still this was not the chief thing, so it seems to me. Yeltsin returned home finally convinced that the West can help only someone who is in a position to help himself.

In this connection the visit to France must, to all appearances, conclude the present stage of the Russian president's vigorous foreign policy activity. Everything that could be said to the West's ruling circles and public opinion has been said. Everything that could be done on this plane has been done. Further foreign trips are pointless, at least for the next few months. Russia's internal affairs are in such a state today that Yeltsin cannot afford to emulate Gorbachev's activity of sad memory.

On the very first section of his series of foreign visits (to Britain, the United States, and Canada) Yeltsin saw for himself the correctness of the old saying: Not even the most beautiful woman can give more than she possesses. The West, for all its eye-catching prosperity and wealth, cannot give more than it has.

A statesman has to think about the future. But Russia itself holds the latter in its own hands.

The visit to France was not easy for the Russian president. What is more, it was, perhaps, even more complex than those to London and North America. This complexity began on a purely personal plane. As long ago as last April, at the time of Yeltsin's visit to Strasbourg (France), the EEC capital, the socialist Mitterrand, who entered the Elysee Palace with the help of the French Communist Party, virtually supported the socialists' and communists' representatives in the European Parliament who obstructed the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet during his speech there. Later, unable to avoid contact with Russia's leader, he met him in the reception room of the head of his office on going in there "by chance" and "unexpectedly" discovering Yeltsin there. The fact that this attitude toward the Russian leader was not something accidental was shown 19 August last year, when Mitterrand remained loyal to the communist Yanayev and was later than all world leaders in declaring his support for Yeltsin in the struggle against the putschists. On the other hand, he was the first to swing toward virtually recognizing the putschists. To the Russian president's credit, he crossed this psychological barrier in a perfectly dignified manner, making out that it simply did not exist and remembering that Paris would be greeting a country, not an individual. He proved to be

right. During the visit influential French newspapers wrote: "In the person of Boris Yeltsin France is today receiving Russian society, albeit a society which has been exhausted economically but which is being revived morally" (LE FIGARO).

During the visit Yeltsin succeeded in shifting the emphasis of the intellectual burden of his trip. The thing is that on the eve of it Western experts had been voicing the opinion that the visit must consolidate the new alignment of forces in Europe, meaning here the problems of nuclear weapons above all. In his talks with Mitterrand Yeltsin did not avoid a discussion of this really vital issue. However, he showed that the chief thing for him was to extricate Russia from the crisis on the economic plane. That, of course, was why he took Marshal Shaposhnikov with him. But Ye. Gaydar, the author of the technology of the economic reform being implemented in Russia, arrived in Paris simultaneously with him.

In the sphere of economic cooperation Yeltsin encountered a most limp reaction. French entrepreneurs in the person of F. Perigot, president of their National Council, gave the important guest to understand in quite clear terms that it will hardly be possible to count on their activity in the Russian economy in the very near future: the risk in investing capital is too great. A position common to the entire West was manifested in France. The West will be prepared to invest capital in the Russian economy and to create a stabilization fund to support the ruble only when it sees for itself that the Russian leadership is in full control of the situation in the economy—that it is consistently implementing reforms and is in a position to stabilize the budget, to observe financial discipline, etc. In other words, both Western entrepreneurs and ours need political stability.

To all appearances, the Russian president has also begun to understand this in greater depth after the series of his recent foreign visits. Although he intimidated his interlocutors in Paris with the Red and Brown menace in Russia in an attempt to prompt them to expand economic cooperation, before his visit to France he had reached the correct conclusion—the rescuing of drowning people is still a matter, above all, for the drowning people themselves. Someone who does nothing himself for his own salvation cannot be saved. The visit to France was useful, above all, because the Russian president, to all appearances, realized this simple truth. It only remains for all of us to realize it.

Yeltsin Balances Mitterrand, Chirac

PM1202113192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "During His Visit to Paris Yeltsin Made His Peace With Mitterrand While Preserving His 'Special Relations' With Chirac"]

[Text] "A new era is beginning in relations between our countries," Boris Yeltsin declared, summing up his three-day visit to Paris. Francois Mitterrand gave the same verdict: "Henceforth Russia and France are friends, and they do not conceal this fact. We have been released from the mutual fear that our peoples and political leaders used to feel."

The French leader's allusion to "political leaders" was no accident. Until this week France remained the only major European power that Yeltsin had not visited since being elected Russian president. The relations that have prevailed between him and Mitterrand have been far from serene. Right up to the last minute the French president continued to back Mikhail Gorbachev and the Union. Yeltsin had not forgotten the markedly chilly reception he got from Mitterrand and his Socialist Party comrades-in-arms in Paris and Strasbourg last April.

During the August putsch the French president, characteristically in view of his age and his political credo, displayed a caution which, however, was completely out of place at that critical moment and which showed Paris in an unfavorable light compared to Washington and especially London. Mitterrand, we must suppose, regrets to this day the overly mild appraisal of Yanayev that he expressed at a news conference on the first day of the coup. Neither the voters nor, even more so, the opposition have forgiven the president this miscalculation—one of the most serious that he has made in all the years of his political career.

Boris Yeltsin did not forget either. The first top-level French politician to visit Moscow following the victory over the putschists was Jacques Chirac, leader of the largest opposition party. Meanwhile Yeltsin was none too courteous with Pierre Beregovoy, a Socialist Party politician close to Mitterrand who holds the key post of minister of the economy, finance, and the budget. His promised meeting with the Russian president was postponed several times for no obvious reason. An ambiguous signal was sent to Paris.

Nevertheless, relations between Russia and France fortunately do not come down to the personal likes and dislikes of their presidents. This unnatural coolness could not last forever. Yeltsin's visit to Paris, as can be judged from the initial response of the French press, has closed this none too pleasant page in the history of our bilateral ties.

A demonstrable reconciliation has taken place between the Russian and French presidents. Yeltsin called his relations with Mitterrand "outstanding." Journalists unexpectedly found out from him that Mitterrand had called Moscow as early as 19 August (!), declared his support for Yeltsin, and even invited the Russian president to Paris. It is hard to say whether the French press believed what Yeltsin said, but from now on this story is the official one.

Neither did Mitterrand pass over the Russian president's April visit which caused such a fuss. On greeting Yeltsin at the Palace of Versailles, he gracefully reminded his guest that 10 months ago they "had talked in his Paris

office," thereby refuting the French and Russian mass media claims that Mitterrand had come out into the anteroom to shake Yeltsin's hand, whereupon the audience came to an end.

It is possible that the generous credits that France has made available to Russia may to some extent represent gratitude for Yeltsin's tacitly agreeing to this interpretation of events. And in the run-up to the parliamentary elections the Russian leader has been of invaluable service to the French president and the Socialist Party he leads, which is in the throes of the most serious crisis of the last decade.

At the same time Yeltsin has managed to preserve intact the close relations binding him to Jacques Chirac and other leaders of the right-wing opposition, who, it seems likely, will return to power following the upcoming elections. Yeltsin has solved a complex diplomatic problem in exemplary fashion: He has made his peace with Mitterrand, but the French still see him as the ally and kindred spirit of Chirac.

'Received Like a Tsar' in Paris

PM1202164592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 5

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Bolshakov: "'He Who Takes No Risks Drinks No Champagne'; Correspondent's Notes Which Did Not Get Into His Article on B.N. Yeltsin's Visit to France"]

[Text] Paris—The West, the Paris weekly L'EXPRESS reported to its readers not without humor, has been obliged to recover from "Gorbymania." "Yeltsin is being received like a tsar and not as a pariah or criminal who constantly picked quarrels with the Great Friend of the West, the USSR president." Indeed, in receiving the Russian president in this new capacity, France looked at him completely differently—in a halo of state flags and the glitter of the honor guard's sparkling cuirasses and sabers. He himself, reflected in the mirrors of Versailles, acquired, like Cinderella after she was touched by the fairy, far more presence and self-confidence. This advantageously distinguished the present Yeltsin from the one who was here in April last year, when his entourage clumsily tried to turn Boris Nikolayevich's visit to France at the private invitation of a little-known magazine into a state visit.

The Russian president, as the French noted as experts in fashion, deportment, gait, and ceremonial step, is very athletic and looks very good inspecting the honor guard, but with his figure he would look better in a double-breasted rather than single-breasted suit.

Protocol experts noted that Boris Nikolayevich is not at a loss even during the most refined state ceremonies and took to them like a duck to water. Here we should also probably pay tribute to the Russian Foreign Ministry protocol service. Journalists also liked it—during the visit it organized our work irreproachably with the aid of the Russian Embassy in France. Journalists noted two more new positive features in B.N. Yeltsin—compared with last April he has learnt to smile and he answers questions always to the point and without taking a long time to think.

Boris Nikolayevich made a favorable impression on French women without which, as de Maupassant once noted, success in this state is simply impossible. The famous actress Marina Vlady, of Russian origin incidentally, to your correspondent's question "What impression did Mr. Yeltsin make on you?" replied: "A wonderful impression. He is a healthy, normal man."

The Paris newspaper RUSSKAYA MYSL, incidentally, also described Yeltsin as a "natural man," explaining that his transition from party apparatchik to anticommunist fully accorded with his nature. Well, perhaps Russian emigre circles knew that nature better than we did.

The French press was more severe to the Moscow guest. The newspaper LE FIGARO greeted Yeltsin on the first day of his visit with a far from flattering cartoon. The well-known cartoonist Lurie drew him as the Statue of Liberty carrying in his right hand not a torch but a bottle of vodka. The article devoted to the visit was, it is true, more objective. "Compared with his rival (Gorbachev—V.B.) who now makes himself out to be a 'wise elder,' Yeltsin wins in at least two ways: First, he came to power by undoubtedly democratic means and second he has begun the economic reform from which Gorbachev always retreated."

It is these elements, noted by LE FIGARO's Moscow correspondent, which largely predetermined the favorable attitude toward the Russian president displayed in France at the official level. The press, especially the right-wing press, closed its eyes to a great deal in an attempt to avoid "spoiling the picture." As for the population's attitude toward his visit, L'HUMANITE correctly noted the complete "indifference" of the Parisians toward him which, of course, was not a plus point for B.N. Yeltsin, particularly compared with the crowds who turned out to welcome the Gorbachevs on the Place de la Bastille in 1989. And although Yeltsin did not even ask to "meet with the people," while such a meeting was planned for Gorbachev, I permit myself to note that it would have done no harm to add a little Russian populism to the tsar's reception in Paris. As the official cortege advances, emerging from the automobile into the totally unsuspecting crowd, shaking dozens of hands and kissing two or three babies is an irreplaceable art for a politician and the ex-president of the ex-USSR for one won many laurels doing this in the United States. We shall hope that the psychologist and publicity specialist who, people here are writing, now prepares Yeltsin for television appearances, will in time consider this element.

Perhaps he should work with Boris Nikolayevich before his addresses to an audience. Particularly when the

Russian president speaks without notes. In Paris at least this has not been very successful. While Gorbachev had a whole series of "Stavropolisms," best known among which was the verb "begin" with the stress on the first syllable, Boris Nikolayevich's speech is full of a mass of "Yekaterinburgisms" unfamiliar even to Russians which pour from his Paris speeches as from a jewel casket. Addressing the patronat—the elite of the French business world—in Paris' prestigious "Pavillion Gabriel," Boris Nikolayevich obviously greatly perplexed his interpreter. For instance, with the following passage which, I should explain, contains an appeal to French businessmen to "stake out" the Russian market more actively:

"...**When enterprises, organizations, and firms are allowed to have direct contacts** with the firms of the world and to conclude deals, bypassing any bureaucratic obstacles at the top Russian state level, when after the collapse of the Union youthful Russian democracy has not yet acquired a bureaucracy which **would be corrupt**, while this bureaucracy**is not corrupt** this opportunity must be taken." French businessmen are indeed as yet few and far between on the Russian market but people here know about the Russian bureaucracy "not being corrupt" not only from the publications of the "Bolshevik press," as the mayor of Moscow, Mr. Popov, called TASS, which reported the Moscow city hall's dubious deals with French construction firms. But perhaps Boris Nikolayevich is simply not told about that.

So far, unfortunately, not everything has been worked out in the Russian president's team. First, it still needs an experienced political scientist (incidentally, there are now plenty of political scientists in our country since Mr Gorbachev's retirement). Otherwise no one will understand what kind of a term it was he was using recently when he referred to "red-brown forces." The French in perplexity translated this as "wearing red and brown shirts." Something like the translation into English of Khrushchev's aphorism about Kuzka's mother [reference to expression meaning "showing you what for"]. That was probably another "Urals-Siberianism."

Second, the Russian Federation's present foreign minister should provide a broader formulation of its foreign policy, which is now concentrated exclusively on the "big seven," because of which the Third World seems to have fallen from the Russian president's view. And here is the result. Speaking about the "communist experiment in Russia," Boris Nikolayevich said literally the following: "Well, it would not have mattered if that fate involving that Marxist-Leninist experiment have befallen some African country, at any rate a small one. No! It befell the mighty Russia and its population of 150 million..." (again this is a literal transcript).

As a result there is embarrassment. This phrase at the joint news conference of B.N. Yeltsin and F. Mitterrand is quoted by an Egyptian journalist. He draws the conclusion (an incorrect conclusion, of course, but he still draws it—V.B.) that the new Russian authorities and Boris Nikolayevich personally despise Africa and the whole Third World in general. Yet the Third World, including Egypt, is now helping us, even with food so that here too they should be more "painstaking." Of course anyone can make a slip of the tongue—even presidents. But these slips of the tongue should be cleared up not during presidential news conferences but before them, and the posts of aides are specially created for the purpose.

Journalists would also like to hear which Yeltsin's team is so unsynchronized. For instance, Deputy Prime Minister Ye.T. Gaydar arrived at the "Pavillion Gabriel" I have already mentioned about 20 minutes earlier than B.N. Yeltsin and while the businessmen were languishing in expectation he gave an interview in good English to the surrounding journalists.

I also pushed my way through to the little circle and asked him, my former PRAVDA colleague—also a paradox, but what can you do—in English: "Tell me, Mr. Vice Premier, can you see light at the end of the tunnel?

"We can," he replied.

"Where then is the end of the tunnel?"

"In a civilized market economy."

"That is in principle. But provisionally, on the more specific plane. Will things become easier in May, in June? Or when?"

"You are too much of an optimist. We are now passing through a very difficult period of transition from a totalitarian economy to a market economy. That is not easy anywhere. You will not find a country where that transition has been easy. At least for the next two years no happiness will come to our poor country. There will be no economic prosperity and no clear signs of an increase in production."

(Subsequently in the newspaper LE FIGARO Ye.T. Gaydar again specified: "According to our own calculations it will take two years before we see the end of the tunnel").

Boris Nikolayevich has obviously frequently heard these opinions from Gaydar. Thus, for instance, in speaking of the difficulties of the transition to a market economy from a totalitarian one, he cited an example—and in precisely this sequence: "Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Italy, Spain, and other countries." But for French businessmen he cited another deadline for getting through the "present tunnel" of Russian misfortunes. Again I quote from my tape: "This year we shall win with the reform. I am sure that this year, by the end of the year, the stabilization of the economy will begin in Russia. An improvement in people's living standard will begin. We shall see the Russians, 150 million people, shall see this light at the end of the tunnel. We are convinced of that."

Of course, Yeltsin's team will acquire skill. As Gorbachev said, they are "working on it." I like the boldness

with which this team is setting to work. Ultimately, as Boris Nikolayevich said, urging the French businessmen to enter the Russian market more boldly, "he who takes no risks drinks no champagne."

Perhaps champagne at an accessible price will appear in our country again some day. But for the time being at least let the bread not disappear. I asked Marina Vlady—it was my second question—about her attitude toward what is happening in Russia now. She said: "I am very sad, of course. It seems that very many people will on the margin. [as received] Or beyond the margin, which is more correct in Russian?"

Gaydar, Beregovoy Cited on Results of Trip

PM1102162192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 92 p 5

[Vladimir Bolshakov commentary: "Debates in Paris. B.N. Yeltsin's Visit to France"]

[Excerpts] Paris—The second day of Russian President B.N. Yeltsin's state visit to France took place under the heavy pressure of protocol. Talks were held with French Foreign Minister Dumas in Versailles from the morning on. Then the black Soviet-made limousines, popularly known in our country as "memberbuggies," speeded to Paris. Awaiting them there was a reception with Jacques Chirac, mayor of the French capital, who is at the same time the head of the Gaulist party Rally for the Republic and is reckoned as the rightist parties' prospective candidate for the post of president. [passage omitted]

Later in the Gabriel Pavilion on the Champs-Elysee, where B.N. Yeltsin and Ye.T. Gaydar gathered to meet French businessmen headed by F. Perigot, head of the French employers' association, I realised that the thesis of "reds and browns" was definitely not a rhetorical device, but had been lodged in all the Russian president's speeches in advance. The same thing was impressed on businessmen—they should begin more quickly to invest and exploit the new opportunities, including the "absence of bureaucracy" in Russia, and even the government apparatus' "inability" to take bribes. The biggest sensation was the president's announcement of the Russian authorities' readiness to place domestic and foreign investors on equal terms as privatization materializes. A shift of position clearly not in favor of Russian business. Legislation to allow foreigners to buy any property in Russia, up to and including plots of land, is promised in the near future, and concessions have already been proposed now on very advantageous terms. [passage omitted]

In an interview with your correspondent, Ye.T. Gaydar said that France is to grant investment credits to meet several of Russia's current production needs, and will afford Russia the opportunity of "opening out a few of our bottlenecks." In particular, pesticides are needed now for the forthcoming sowing season, and the French will provide them on time. Gaydar also stressed that the atmosphere during the talks was highly amicable.

After signing agreements with Russia, P. Beregovoy, minister for the economy, finance, and the budget, had already got into his car, but he agreed to say a few words for PRAVDA. They were as follows: "The agreements signed today are very important. They represent a fine basis from which to begin cooperation, both financial and economic, between Russia and France; in the course of our further meetings we will sign several new agreements, this time at the level of industrial producers, functionaries, and banks. And I am sure that this will bring its own undoubted fruits. The Russian-French standing commission which was set up by us today and will replace the well-known Soviet-French Grand Commission will play a significant role in this. I wish our Russian colleagues success, first and foremost Mr. Gaydar."

I asked P. Beregovoy: "It is said that France is more generous to Yeltsin's Russia than to the Soviet Union under Gorbachev. Is this so?" The minister replied: "No, in the sphere of cooperation we were sufficiently generous to Gorbachev. The point is simply that the disorder which reigned in the administrative structures of the former Soviet Union led to the agreements concluded by us not always being fulfilled. Let us hope that now this is not the case and they will be fulfilled quickly."

One further meeting occurred which was truly historic. The Russian president received compatriots of ours living in France in the Russian ambassador's residence in Paris, on Rue Grenelle, where the tsars did not once scorn to stay. The meeting was attended by Grand Prince Vladimir Kirillovich Romanov and his spouse, the descendants of many famous Russian families, priests, writers, actors, among them Marina Vladi. The writer and academic Maurice Druon, the academic sovietologist and writer Helene Carriere De l'Encausse, and many others also openly declared their Russian roots—further proof of how deeply and mutually heartfelt is evrything which we share in common and which has brought Russia and France close together over the centuries. Yesterday on Rue Grenelle Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, it may be said, officially announced the end of the civil war between Russians that has been continuing for more than 70 years. Irrespective of one's political views, this can only be a cause for joy.

Kozyrev Interviewed on Policy, Diplomacy

LD1002105292 Moscow TASS in English 0945 GMT 10 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Petrov]

[Text] Lisbon February 10 ITAR-TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev was interviewed by the Portuguese newspaper "PUBLICA".

Asked about the priorities of Russian diplomacy, Kozyrev said: "Some people believe it is oriented mostly towards the West. This is right, because the West has the most powerful potential and is able to help us. On the

other hand, we do not ignore the southern, Asian states. While in New York Boris Yeltsin has reached agreement with the Japanese premier on a visit to that country. It is tentatively planned for September. We are working in all directions. A few visits by Russian leaders to Western Europe and the United States do not mean that we have forgotten about such partners as Turkey and other Asian nations."

Speaking about his meetings in Istanbul with foreign ministers of the new independent states—former republics of the Soviet Union—Kozyrev expressed the conviction that the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] had no other alternative. Talks with his colleagues have confirmed good prospects for the promotion of normal relations and cooperation within the Commonwealth of Independent States, the minister said. Several republics lack experience and a proper aparatus for conducting foreign relations we are prepared to help them from the purely professional point of view, without foisting our views upon them. They welcome such assistance.

Kozyrev said it was best to rely on the ministries of foreign affairs in the search for ways to resolve problems arising in the Commonwealth of Independent States. "Since we have, so to speak, broken up the Union and have become independent states, we must conduct foreign policy with the use of usual diplomatic instruments," he stressed.

"My visit to Turkey," Kozyrev continued, "has shown that in the new conditions, after the emergence of new CIS states, no crevice has appeared in relations with the states, lying to the south of the CIS borders, that further constructive cooperation with them was quite possible. The new Russia believes it is in her interest not to spread communist ideology or to stir up a world revolution, or to exert military-political pressure on other states. It is in her interests to create a favourable space around itself, marked by stability and economic prosperity. This refers also to the former republics of the Soviet Union, which are no sovereign Asian states. The point is not that they have become independent. It is important whence they will proceed. We have reached agreement that we should not compete for zones of influence, but should develop cooperation and partnership with all the states of the region."

"We know," Kozyrev said, "That concern is being expressed about the possibility of these Asian republics embarking upon the road of Islamic fundamentalism, thereby dooming themselves to political backwardness. It is important today to include these states into the civilized and democratic space, which can no longer be regarded as simply European: It is now a Euroasian space. It embraces all the northern hemisphere, since the CSCE comprises also the United States and Canada, and now the former republics of the USSR. And Russia continues to play the uniting role, but in a new way: not through military-political or ideologic expansion, but by adhering to democratic norms."

Ambassador on Slovenia, Croatia Recognition

OW1202153392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1424 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ambassador Yuriy Deryabin has qualified as "nonsenses" the allegations of some Serbian newspapers that the decision to recognize the republics of Croatia and Slovenia was taken under pressure from "some mythical Jewish mafia within the leadership of Russia's foreign ministry". He said Russia made this step having taken into account today's realities in Yugoslavia and in Europe as a whole.

By the time we made this decision, as many as 42 states had announced their recognition of Croatia and Slovenia", Y. Deryabin stressed. He added that it was "an absolutely independent decision taken without any outside pressure".

Earlier Y. Deryabin made a trip to Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana to inform them of this decision. Later the Russian foreign ministry will send letters to the foreign ministries of Croatia and Slovenia to document the recognition. The next step will be to establish diplomatic relations with these republics. Practical contacts in connection with these issues will be carried out through the Moscow offices of the Slovenian company "Les" (Timber) and the Croatian firm "Astra".

This will be followed by the development of economic relations with Croatia and Slovenia. During his talks with the leaders of the two republics Y. Deryabin discussed opportunities for implementing extensive projects. Croatia is willing to develop trade with Russia in an amount of 2.5 billion dollars annually. The most promising areas of Russia's cooperation with Croatia and Slovenia are shipbuilding, machinebuilding and pharmacy.

"The recognition of Croatia and Slovenia does not mean that Yugoslavia ceases to exist for us", Y. Deryabin stressed. Russia intends to "maintain contacts on the federal level and develop bilateral relations with Serbia". A large-scale political agreement between Russia and Serbia is being drafted now. "We have no intention of damaging our traditional ties with Serbia, which we have always viewed as one of the leading nations on the Balkans", the Russian diplomat pointed out.

Mission Clarifies Stance

PM0702115492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Yevgeniy Vostrukhov: "Russia Intends To Recognize Croatia and Slovenia; Question of Diplomatic Relations Not Yet Settled"]

[Text] Yuriy Deryabin, special representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry, has arrived in Belgrade. He

had meetings with leaders of the foreign ministries of Serbia and Yugoslavia. After Belgrade Yu. Deryabin is to go to Zagreb and Ljubljana.

The purpose of the trip is to explain the statement by Russia's leaders on its forthcoming official recognition of the independence of Croatia and Slovenia. Recognition itself is expected at the end of the week, but it does not automatically mean the establishment of diplomatic relations with Zagreb and Ljubljana.

In Belgrade's journalistic circles attention is drawn to the fact that a few days ago Serbian President S. Milosevic sent a message to Russian President B. Yeltsin. He asked that Russia refrain for the time being from recognizing Croatia and Slovenia, as the United States has done thus far.

Russia, which historically has had particularly close ties with Serbia, is in a tricky position, local observers believe. However, it has to reckon with reality. As TANJUG writes in a commentary, Russia has not written off Yugoslavia, to which those peoples and regions of the SFRY who so wish will continue to belong. At the same time TANJUG cites the opinion of "diplomatic circles and political commentators" to the effect that the step taken by Russia works against a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

At the same time this decision—the only reasonable one and the only possible one—has encountered new obstacles in Zagreb. It has become known that in a meeting with UN Deputy Secretary General M. Goulding, Croatian President F. Tudjman put forward amendments to the plan for sending UN peacekeeping forces into Yugoslavia's territory which Goulding could not accept. News agencies report that Croatia now insists on a strictly defined time limit on the presence of the "blue berets" in the disputed territories—up to a year, no more. It is proposed that for the first three months local communities would be governed by three envoys jointly—representatives of Croatia, the UN mission, and the local population. After that it is proposed to hold local elections, with a ban on participation by all the "rebels"—that is, Serbs who took up arms to safeguard the collective rights of the 600,000-strong Serbian population of Croatia.

C. Vance, special representative of the UN secretary general in Yugoslavia, described the change in the Croatian side's position as unacceptable. He told journalists this in New York after a meeting with UN Secretary General B. Ghali. He announced that he will be meeting with Ghali and Goulding again on this problem.

The European Community has decided to continue its peace mission to Yugoslavia. Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference on the peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, will visit the former federation 5 through 7 February.

Belgrade Expresses 'Regret'

PM1002132592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by A. Ostalskiy: ""Russia's Recognition of Slovenia and Croatia Has Generated a Storm in Belgrade"]

[Excerpt] A dramatic turn has occurred in Russia's policy with regard to Yugoslavia. That is how the Yugoslav state news agency TANJUG assesses Moscow's decision to recognize the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. All the Belgrade newspapers printed this commentary...

Yet this decision of Russia's—not to lag behind West Europe any longer and to recognize the independence of Slovenia and Croatia—can hardly be considered unexpected. We were pushed toward it by the desire to respect the principles of international law, the values of modern civilization, and the very logic of events. After all the independence of the two former republics has already occurred de facto and has legally been recognized by virtually all Europe. Perhaps the main thing is that we know very well from our own experience where attempts to ignore reality, refusing peoples the right to self-determination, can lead.

Yuriy Deryabin, the Russian Foreign Ministry special representative who has arrived in Belgrade, is faced with an extremely complex task: trying not only to set up relations with the leadership of the new independent states born on the fragments of the Yugoslav federation but also to preserve ties with Serbia and Montenegro. It would indeed be tragic to wipe out the special relations which Russia has formed over the centuries with the Serbs and the Montenegrins and which have already suffered severely from the reprisal of the communist leaders. But that does not mean that Russia can, even for the sake of that noble aim, sacrifice its hard-won democratic principles and reject realism in its foreign policy.

Stressing that the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia is dictated by the desire not to remain aloof from events, Yuriy Deryabin said in a talk with a TASS correspondent: "We have already been late in the past, which has not been of any benefit to us." He noted that here Russia proceeds from a consideration of the realities which are taking shape and a desire to promote the comprehensive political solution of the Yugoslav crisis.

The "dramatic turn" in Russian policy occurred by no means now but after the overthrow of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, which was in fact in power in the former USSR in the first half of last year. It was the people who openly opposed reforms in August who had back in the spring determined the policy of "supporting Yugoslav integrity." And that support played an enormous part in the choice in favor of civil war made by the Yugoslav generals and turncoat Communists in the Serbian leadership. Now the Belgrade leaders feel betrayed. But after all the former commitments came from the former rulers....

The Yugoslav side, the official announcement from the SFRY foreign policy department says, was extremely critical of the Russian Federation's intention to recognize Slovenia and Croatia and expressed regret in connection with this position which in its opinion "essentially legalizes separatism and complicates the search for a political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis." Far less diplomatic expressions are used by the Belgrade press, which hints that Russia is not autonomous in its foreign policy and is acting to Washington's dictation. [passage omitted]

Social Policy Official on Aid Distribution

LD1202131192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Excerpts] A big news conference lasting one and a half hours and devoted to the start of the wide-scale provision of humanitarian aid to our country was held today at the Foreign Ministry press center. Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Zhitnikov, deputy minister for social policy of Russia, and colleagues of his from a Russian Government commission replied to journalists' questions. Responsibility for the timely and fair distribution of food and medicine and everything covered by the term humanitarian aid lies, first and foremost, with the social welfare bodies. Listen to an excerpt from the news conference.

[Begin recording] [Zhitnikov] It is the social welfare bodies that know best which people should receive humanitarian aid first: pensioners; the disabled; poor sections of the population, for example large families; and so on. In other words, we actually have about 200,000 people in Russia in the public social welfare system. Of course, it has been important to assess our need for humanitarian aid and, second, to assess the areas in which the need for humanitarian aid is most acute. There are 31 such regions. The requirements of each region have also been assessed.

[Unidentified reporter] I am from the Marketplace U.S. radio program. Some people have already said that the American role, the American aid which has begun to arrive over the last few days, is more symbolic than real aid, that the amount is too small to change anything here.

[Zhitnikov] We see this as the beginning of large-scale aid, the first phase in the larger deliveries that will be carried out, the first—in other words, the 25 planes that are to arrive over two weeks, with approximately 1,500 tonnes. [passage omitted]

The main thing here is that the aid should be provided to the poorest sections of the population. Humanitarian aid cannot—and we do not see this as its aim—feed all sections of the population. We would like to know the volume of humanitarian aid we will receive in March. We do not have such broad figures for March or for April. [passage omitted]

We do not have a situation in which medicines are being sent here as a way of bypassing our health care system. There is a set procedure. [end recording]

Zhitnikov, deputy minister for social policy, assured journalists that there will be strict control over aid distribution.

Minister Hopes Aid To Stabilize Market Prices

OW1202150892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Andrey Zhitnikov, Russia's Deputy Social Security Minister, has expressed the hope that western humanitarian aid, which has amounted to nearly 1,000 tons [as received] daily, will send market prices in Russia down. He told IF [INTERFAX] that last year Russia received some 240,000 tons of food from abroad. This year's supplies are expected to total 1 million tons.

Zhitnikov said that the Commission on International Humanitarian Aid, of which he is deputy chairman, also expected to receive $50 million in assistance from Japan and $500,000 from Thailand. That money, he said, would be channeled into the protection of low-income citizens and make it possible to pay the disabled pensioners, for instance, 150 rubles more a month.

First Aircraft With U.S. Aid Arrives

LD1002212992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 10 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Surzhaniskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The first aircraft with U.S. humanitarian aid arrived in Moscow today as part of the "Operation Hope" program. It delivered to the capital of Russia about 30 tonnes of food, including powdered milk, sugar, and canned meat.

Robert Strauss, U.S. ambassador in the Russian Federation, who met the aircraft personally, checked whether the first container with foodstuffs was complete.

Destined for Yakutsk

LD0902121192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2150 GMT 8 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Stanislav Lunev]

[Summary] Washington, 9 Feb (TASS)—An Il-74 Aeroflot plane with the latest batch of American humanitarian aid left Washington for Yakutsk today. On board are 40 tonnes of medicine, including antibiotics, vitamins, and painkillers, as well as medical supplies. The cargo is valued at 2.5 million dollars and is destined for

six Yakutsk hospitals. A group of U.S. specialists is also aboard—they are to help with storing and distributing the aid.

'Broader Cooperation' With U.S. Encouraged

LD0702201792 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 7 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington February 7 TASS—Representatives of the Atlantic Council of the USA and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations under the Russian Academy of Sciences ended their meeting in Washington by adopting a joint statement on U.S.-Russian relations.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin's meeting with U.S. President George Bush in Camp David on February 1 provided a firm basis for broader cooperation between Russia and the United States, the statement said.

They urged the U.S. Government to support democratic reforms in Russia through humanitarian, food and medical assistance. The statement calls on the Russian and U.S. Government to curb arms arace and reduce both countries' nuclear arsenals.

The recent meeting between Yeltsin and Bush allowed Russia and the United States to enter an era of constructive cooperation, Andred Goodpaster, head of the Atlantic Council of the USA, former supreme allied commander Europe, told ITAR-TASS.

He expressed hope that humanitarian and food aid to Russia will attract foreign investments in Russia and help develop its economy.

Khasbulatov Recieves U.S. Refugee Experts

PM1102142192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Press Center report: "Khasbulatov's Meeting With Experts on Refugee Affairs"]

[Text] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, had a meeting at the House of Soviets 8 February with a group of experts of the U.S. Committee for Refugees—an authoritative nongovernmental organization that has been working for several decades in the sphere of rendering humanitarian aid and immigration policy.

Roger Winter, the committee's director, provided information on the upcoming program of research activity into the problems of refugees on the territory of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states, including the Russian Federation.

Assessing at the guests' request the need for a careful study of the population's forced migration, Khasbulatov emphasized the Russian leadership's serious concern at the scale of this problem for the Russian Federation.

It is precisely the scale of the problem that is its unique feature. However hard parliament seeks to prevent the escalation of the refugee problem by means of talks with the former member states of the USSR, it will not be possible to achieve this for the present. An influx of a huge number of refugees onto the territory of the Russian Federation cannot be ruled out. The chief reason, the chairman of parliament pointed out, is the adoption in the former Union republics of quite a number of "tough" laws that infringe human rights—above all, the rights of the Russian-speaking population.

Answering a question as to whether it is possible to make an optimistic assessment of the prospects for resolving the refugee problem, Khasbulatov remarked that he believes in such a possibility. Parliament is conducting a continuous process of talks on this question. The Russian Federation also has corresponding bilateral agreements. However, the whole trouble is that certain leaders do not firmly adhere to compliance with a universally recognized norm of international law: "Treaties must be fulfilled."

Chinese To Supply Food to Sakhalin, Kurils

LD0702190892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1536 GMT 5 Feb 92

[From the "External Economic Relations" section]

[Text] Vladivostok—A Chinese commune intends to provide fresh vegetables enough to feed 1/10 of Sakhalin as well as the South and Central Kuril Islands.

On February 3, the management of the Sakhalin Korsakovskiy state-run farm signed a contract with the Harbin commune Dungsing, on involving 55 Chinese workers for growing black radishes, tomatoes, cabbages and carrots in the Korsakovskiy district (Sakhalin region). Farm director Mikhail Yarovenko told PF [POSTFACTUM]: At the beginning the Chinese commune will work over 70 hectares, which is planned to yield over 1.5 tons [as received] of vegetables. Head of the Korsakovskiy Farm Planning and Finance Department Yuriy Boldyrev said the Chinese promise to supply vegetables to the Korsakovskiy district (70,000 people) as well as to the South and Central Kurils. According to Boldyrev, this is quite feasible as the Chinese have one of the most advanced technologies of working land and high agriculture.

Leading UK Parties United on Aid to Russia

PM1102110192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Aleksandr Krivopalov under "IZVESTIYA Correspondents on World Events" rubric: "London Ready To Take Lead. House of Commons Unanimously Favors Granting Russia Aid"]

[Text] London—Prime Minister John Major, speaking in parliament, rated highly the results of the Russian Federation president's working visit to London and the top-level UN Security Council session held in New York under British chairmanship.

Major recalled the forthcoming preparations for concluding the treaty on relations between Russia and the United Kingdom, which will be based on the joint declaration signed last Thursday [30 January], when B. Yeltsin visited London. The head of the cabinet also drew the attention of members of the House of Commons to the importance of Russia's speediest admission to the IMF—preferably before the end of April. In Major's opinion, following this, if Russia advances further down the path of developing a market economy, a stabilization fund could be created to ensure convertibility of the ruble. Of course, the prime minister noted, this will require certain financial efforts. Developing his thought, the premier specially stressed: "But the price of failure, of a return to dictatorship and the 'cold war' will be incomparably higher." That is why Major believes that granting appropriate aid is in the interests of Britain and the West. London is ready to take the lead in this matter.

In his answers to questions from members of parliament the prime minister also broached the question of the scientific potential of the former USSR's specialists who were previously employed in the military-nuclear sphere. According to Major, President Yeltsin "has submitted a number of interesting proposals about placing these scientists in international centers so that they work there for peaceful purposes." As regards Britain, it is studying the possibilities—its own and those of other countries—for utilizing them.

Showing rare unanimity with the government, official opposition leader Neil Kinnock also approved the results of the talks with Yeltsin and promised the Labor Party's utmost support.

Thus there are no differences between the main political parties in Albion in relation to a Russian-British rapprochement and increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations. The difference manifests itself in something else. Politicians and ordinary people are interested to know what will happen to Britain's own nuclear arsenal. The Conservative government's position has always been firm: "Compared with the superpowers our deterrent forces represent the essential minimum."

Yeltsin agreed with this assessment, Major stressed in Westminster. The emphasis must now be put on nuclear disarmament by the superpowers. However, this assurance did not satisfy everybody. P. Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, the third most important political force in the UK, asked a question which, I think, is facing many Britons at the moment, following the large-scale initiatives of the United States and the Russian Federation: Why does the government want to increase the number of nuclear warheads in its deterrent forces?

Major's explanation followed immediately, an explanation which compels one to assume that the British Cabinet intends to make certain corrections to its Trident program following the conversation with Yeltsin.

It should be recalled that each of the now obsolete Polaris missiles that is part of Britain's arsenal and is due to be replaced by Trident in the mid-nineties has three strategic warheads. It is said that this entire system amounts to between 100 and 192 warheads, although the exact number remains unknown.

But the Trident missiles that Britain will receive from the United States are equipped with eight independently targetable warheads, and furthermore with an increased range compared with Polaris—three times greater. Up to now the overall figure defining the maximum number of these warheads has been put at 512.

But now, after the remark made by the British prime minister in the Palace of Westminster, local commentators believe that the government is prepared to cut the number of warheads. Everything evidently depends on how disarmament of the nuclear arsenal remaining on the former USSR's territory is to be carried out.

Moscow EEC Office To Help Foreign Investment

OW0802035492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1623 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Moscow on Friday [7 February] a group of Russian and foreign businessmen announced the creation of an international fund to guarantee foreign investments in the Russian economy. The co-chairman of the representative office of the Moscow EEC, Omari Sokhadze said at today's news conference that the fund currently contains 25-30 million dollars but will grow to 100 million dollars over the next few months.

The founders of the representative office which created the insurance fund consist of Russian and foreign commercial and government structures. Among them are the Moscow government, the Delovoi Mir (Business World) Consortium, Russian Independent Airlines, the Belgian firm L'Enterprise De Demain, and the Italian Institute of Foreign Trade.

The Gorbachev Fund made public its intention to become a co-founder of the Moscow EEC and its funds. Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to become a co-chairman of the Moscow EEC. The purpose of the representative office will be to facilitate the establishment of contacts between Russian and foreign businessmen, guarantee foreign investments, and finance and ensure widescale

economic development programs in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other Russian cities. As Sokhadze stated, preference will be given to the development of industrial branches here.

Rumors of Moscow Putsch Disturbs Exchange Rate

LD1202200192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Levchenko]

[Text] London, 12 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Since this morning the dollar quotation on the London currency exchange has jumped sharply. Its exchange rate has risen to 1.606 German marks in view of the heightened demand. The jump in the dollar rate has been triggered by the new wave of rumors circulating in the City [of London] on certain "extraordinary" events in Russia. They were prompted by yesterday's statement on the danger of a new putsch in Moscow made by Eduard Shevardnadze, former USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, in an interview on the German ZDF television program. Since this morning representatives of the city, having found out the latest news from Moscow, have been ringing the ITAR-TASS department and the Russian Embassy in London. An official refutation by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia was needed before the situation on the stock exchange stabilized and the dollar rate went back to its usual level.

The nervousness on the stock exchange objectively reflects the uncertainty of the West's business world as to the way in which events will develop in Russia, which is in the grips of a serious economic crisis, and regarding the ability of the present authorities to correct the situation. Currency speculators who are deliberately fanning the rumors, are taking advantage of this to extract large sums in the predictable game of currency rates.

Petrovskiy Addresses UN Environment Program

LD0902185392 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] The second UN Environment Program [UNEP] conference has opened in Washington. In his address Russian special representative Petrovskiy declared that the Russian Federation is aware of its responsibility for ensuring that a single area for the application of environmental law is retained on the territory of the former Union and the present Commonwealth of Independent States. He disclosed that Russia has drawn up and is implementing a national concept of ecological security as one of the components of comprehensive international security. He drew a special link between this question and the need to limit the number and yield of nuclear explosions. Agreement on this, Petrovskiy said, would make it possible to arrive at new and realistic solutions to the task which lies ahead of achieving a complete end to nuclear tests and their prohibition.

North Atlantic Assembly Membership Sought

LD1202202192 Moscow TASS in English 1949 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels February 12 TASS—Russian parliamentary leader Ruslan Khasbulatov has sent a letter to Charles Rose, chairman of the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA), saying Russia wants to join the assembly as an associative member.

In the letter delivered by the Russian ambassador to Belgium, Nikolay Afanasievskiy, Khasbulatov pointed out that the Russian parliament and the assembly may cooperate to promote stability and security in Europe.

Closer Relations With Japan Urged

PM1302114192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 4

[Article by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov: "Is It Not Time To Correct the Bias?"]

[Text] The two-day sittings of the Russian-Japanese working group on the preparation of a peace treaty ended in Moscow yesterday. That event gives grounds for considering the reasons for the stagnation in relations with our Far East neighbor. "I should like to hope that Russian diplomacy will not inherit from Soviet diplomacy its pro-Western bias and disregard for top-level contacts with Japan," a guest from Tokyo told me recently in a confidential talk.

I think that there are grounds for that rebuke. For many years a certain "Western centrism" and an underestimation of the Asian-Pacific salient and in particular of relations with Japan have been inherent in Soviet foreign policy. The Kremlin leaders were frequent guests in the Western capitals. But until last year not one of them had visited Tokyo although four Japanese prime ministers have visited Moscow since the war. Indeed even Gorbachev took too long to get to Japan. When he was there he was tied too much by the domestic political situation to overcome the stagnation in bilateral relations.

After the collapse of the USSR Russia became Tokyo's main partner. The Japanese are enviously observing the foreign tours of the first Russian president. Italy, Germany, Britain, the United States, Canada, France—it is obvious that Japan is the only country missing from the "big seven" in this list. As is well known, a routine meeting of the leading world powers is to be held in Munich this summer. Among the main topics the "seven" plans to discuss support for reforms in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. For the Japanese it would be highly desirable to receive Yeltsin in the first half of this year. First, for considerations of prestige (why should Tokyo always be last on the list of Moscow's priorities?). And second, to ensure that the compromises jointly elaborated by the "seven" do not put pressure on bilateral Japanese-Russian affairs.

In January Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Watanabe flew to Moscow in the hope of agreeing with Yeltsin on the date of his visit to Tokyo. But the Russian president unexpectedly cancelled the promised meeting. This caused perplexity, to put it mildly, in official circles and much angry gossip in the press. (Later it became known that the Russian president had flown to Novorossiysk but for the second ranking person in the Japanese Government that could scarcely be any consolation).

The Russian president and the Japanese prime minister met in New York in connection with a session of the UN Security Council. According to TOKYO SHIMBUN Miyazawa invited Yeltsin to visit Japan in June but the future guest replied he would be able to make the visit only in September. Miyazawa seemed to come to terms with that and is now fighting daily for active preparation for a breakthrough in Russian-Japanese relations.

Tokyo welcomes the readiness Moscow has expressed to resolved vexed problems "on a basis of legality and justice without division into conquerors and conquered." The only thing is that it seems to me that this sensible principle is being somewhat prematurely interpreted as a concession on the territorial issue. For instance, the head of government officially stated that the present population of the South Kurils will be given the right of permanent residence in Japan and those who want to move to Russia will be given material compensation. The anniversary of the first Russian-Japanese treaty, signed in 1855, is celebrated in Japan 7 February as "Northern territories day."

Obviously agreement regarding legality and justice is not enough to resolve the dispute. It is important to interpret these principles in the same way. I am sure that if we are indeed striving to become a rule-of-law state it is essential to confirm our adherence to the 1956 declaration ratified by the two countries' parliaments and to fulfill the commitments enshrined in it regarding Habomai and Shikotan islands. As for Kunashir and Iturup, the reference to 1855 is in my opinion not justified. Because Japan itself cancelled this treaty when, counter to "legality and justice," it attacked Port Arthur in 1904. Similarly the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 doomed Japan to the fate of a vanquished power when under the San Francisco peace treaty it was denied "all rights, legal entitlement, and claims to the Kuril islands."

In brief, commitments which must be fulfilled are one thing. Vexed issues for whose solution it is necessary to seek compromises by going halfway toward each other are another. In this search there can be no pressure of any kind, no division into conquerors and conquered either as a result of World War II or of the "cold war".

It is gratifying that the normalization of relations with Moscow has been called a priority aim of Tokyo's policy. I should like to hope that the Russian leadership will also display a suitable attitude toward Japan. Especially as the next century is being called the century of the Pacific and since the collapse of the USSR Russia has lost more convenient outlets to the Baltic and Black Seas. Under these conditions it is particularly important to correct Russian diplomacy's "pro-Western bias."

Japan Confirms Stance on Northern Territories

PM1302095792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Gennadiy Charodeyev: "Tokyo Does Not Expect Cardinal Progress in Resolving Territorial Problem at Meeting in Moscow"]

[Text] The ninth session of the working group to prepare a treaty between Russia and Japan is into its second day in the Russian Foreign Ministry building on Smolenskaya Square. The delegations are headed by Deputy Foreign Ministers Georgiy Kunadze and Kunihiko Saito.

Both sides are refraining from making any comment before the end of the talks. However, it is possible to remark that this is the first precedent for holding talks on this problem since the breakup of the Soviet Union and the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

On the eve of their departure for Moscow official representatives of the Japanese Foreign Ministry declared that they were not expecting cardinal progress in resolving the territorial problem in relations between Russia and Japan at the upcoming Moscow session of the bilateral working group. Tokyo regards it as the continuation of the analogous diplomatic contacts that had taken place between the two countries previously.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent has learned that on the first day of the talks in Moscow the Japanese side confirmed its official stand on the territorial problem: The "northern territories" belong to Japan and must be returned to it. The Japanese representatives stated their positive assessment of Russia's intention to build foreign policy on the principles of "legality and justice."

To all appearances, during the talks on the peace treaty the Japanese side's attention has been concentrated on the question of whether the Russian side intends to confirm the 1956 Soviet-Japanese Joint Declaration.

Tokyo in 'Uproar' Over Position

LD1302103892 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo February 13 TASS—Following a brief euphoria, Tokyo was forced officially to dismiss its own report that Russia has allegedly adopted a positive stance as regards the first bilateral treaty of 1855 that recognised Japan's sovereignty over the four islands of Iturup, Kunashir, Shikotan and Habomai in the Kurile chain. The report has sparked an uproar in the Japanese capital.

At a news conference here on Wednesday [12 Februrary], general secretary of the cabinet of ministers Koichi Kato emphasised that in the government's view Moscow abides by the old approach to the last century's accords on which Tokyo largely bases its claims to the so- called northern territories. This position is explained by the fact that the 1855 treaty lost its force as a result of the conclusion of subsequent bilateral agreements, specifically the Portsmouth Peace Treaty of 1905 signed upon the results of the Russian-Japanese War.

Kato said Tokyo does not think this line of Moscow has changed and, therefore, is not going to make any optimistic conclusions now.

At a news conference in Moscow on Tuesday [11 February], Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito said that at a meeting of the bilateral working group on a peace treaty held in Moscow the Russian delegation "reacted positively" to his words about the peace nature of the demarcation of the borders in 1855. This report has instantly become public knowledge here and Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa hurried to welcome a change in Moscow's position, expressing hope that it would agree to consider the last century's accords as the basis for further talks.

After returning to Tokyo, Saito himself corrected his statement, noting at a Foreign Ministry news conference on Wednesday that the Russian side did not recognise the 1855 treaty as the basis for solving the territorial issue. He emphasised that at the working group's meeting in Moscow from February 10 to 11, he did not hear anything new from his partners.

Treaty 'Not Likely' in September

OW1302005492 Tokyo KYODO in English 0020 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, Feb. 12 KYODO—A senior Russian Foreign Ministry official said Wednesday [12 February] Russia and Japan are not likely to coordinate details of their peace treaty by mid-September when President Boris Yeltsin is scheduled to make his official visit to Japan, INTERFAX News Agency reported.

The report withheld the diplomat's identify.

The official, who took part in a recently concluded first round of working-level talks on a Russo-Japanese peace treaty, said Russia at the meeting reaffirmed its rights and commitments stemming from treaties signed between Japan and the former Soviet Union, the report said.

He said Russia recognizes the 1956 Soviet-Japan joint declaration, which provides for turning two of four disputed islands over to Japan after a peace treaty is signed, INTERFAX reported.

The four islands, located northeast of Japan's northernmost main island of Hokkaido, are Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan, and the Habomai group of islets.

The formerly Japanese-held islands were seized by the now defunct Soviet Union at the end of World War II.

The diplomat added, however, "the Japanese realize that at the moment there is great agitation (in Russia) in connection with the proposed peace treaty and above all its territorial aspect, and therefore they do not insist on speeding up solution of this problem," according to the report.

Japan and Russia ended their first round of peace treaty talks in Moscow on Tuesday [11 February].

During the talks, Russian Vice Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze said Moscow must overcome a 1960 government memorandum that negated the 1956 Japan-Soviet joint declaration, which would have accepted the return to Japan of Shikotan and the Habomai group of islets.

Importance of Asia, Pacific Policies Noted

LD0602213992 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0910 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Interview with Aleksandr Losyukov, head of the Asian-Pacific department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, by observer Igor Bestuzhev; place and date not given—Losyukov in Russian fading into English report]

[Text] Our department, Aleksandr Losyukov says, is now busy assessing the importance for Russia of Asian-Pacific countries and determining the ways of building and developing relations with them. In fact we are just shaping Russian policy in that region.

This, however, does not mean that we are creating a new foreign policy, entirely different from the policy pursued by the former Soviet Union. It should be remembered that as the legal successor to the Soviet Union, Russia has undertaken to fulfill the treaties and agreements concluded with Asian-Pacific countries by the Soviet Union. At the same time, Russia tries to reassess these relations from the angle of its new interests. Aleksandr Losyukov:

This is natural, since Russia understands such interests not exactly the way they were understood by the Union leadership.

The Union Government began to reassess its policy in the Asian-Pacific region and it scored certain positive results on this. Nonetheless, it failed to overcome much of what was in the way of the policy. Aleksandr Losyukov again:

What I mean was, first of all the obsessive ideological orientation of the policy. That factor made it difficult to realize the principles of new thinking the leaders of the former Union themselves proclaimed. This obstacle has been removed. We feel that our foreign policy should be free of any ideological elements.

Such an approach is already producing fruit. Beijing, for example, feared that Russia would introduce ideological

elements into its relations with China. Yet such fears were dispersed after a visit to Beijing by a group of Russian MPs [Members of Parliament] who handed a message from President Boris Yeltsin to the chairman Yang Shangkun. The MPs assured the Chinese leaders that Russia wanted not only to preserve everything positive in our relations but to go much further. The assurances had a favorable response in Beijing.

For many years the Soviet Union divided other states into friend and adversaries. As a result there were quite a few countries in the Asia-Pacific region with whom our relations were not as good as they could be. In recent years the Soviet leadership made a series of moves to change this situation. Moscow established friendly relations with South Korea, which it previously considered a hostile state. Yet the Union proved unable to overcome all the stereotypes. As a result Russia has inherited a number of unsolved problems, including the problem of what Japan calls its Northern Territories, and also quite cool political relations with a number of countries. And all this induced Russia to make changes in its policy in Asia and the Pacific Basin. Aleksandr Losyukov said the following:

The present policy is aimed at developing cooperation with its former adversaries while preserving normal relations with the countries it called and calls its friends.

For example, Moscow invariably supported India in its controversies with Pakistan, although such support quite often had a negative impact on our relations with Islamabad. We have now revised this approach. For instance, Russia supports the Pakistani idea of converting South Asia into a nuclear-free zone, despite the fact that India is blocking it. Our stand on the issue has caused allegations in the media of a number of countries to the effect that Russia is turning its back on India. But this is not so. Russia attributes great importance to the development of its relations with India and this is natural. Aleksandr Losyukhov:

India is the largest state of Asia, of the Indian Ocean Basin, and it remains one of our chief partners in the region. Being aware of this we are making major moves toward improving relations with it. For example, Russia and India have drafted a political treaty on bilateral relations. Most likely it will be signed during the planned visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Delhi. At the same time I would like to stress that we do not want our relations with India to become dominating, to have an adverse effect on our relations with other countries of the region or damage Russian national interests. In this context I am pleased to note that Delhi has on the whole shown an understanding of our position.

Although our relations with the United States have improved radically and we [no] longer consider that major Pacific country our adversary, our military confrontation with it in the Pacific continues, although on a smaller scale. The Russian Foreign Ministry regards this situation as abnormal. Aleksandr Losyukov:

This state of confrontation should be put to an end. This can be done through dialogue on military matters. I hope such a diaologue will begin some day. We have accomplished a lot in our talks with Washington on disarmament in Europe and on a global scale. Yet there has not been much progress in the field in Asia or the Pacific Basin, so it is necessary to make a similar breakthrough also in that region.

Russia is seeking an early, cardinal improvement in its relations with Japan. Yet there is an obstacle in the path—an unsettled territorial dispute. Aleksandr Losyukov:

We believe that the visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Tokyo, scheduled for September, will help solve this problem. Next week a bilateral working group on the conclusion of a peace treaty intends to meet. In March, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev will come to Japan and his Japanese colleague, Mr. Watanabe, will reciprocate a visit to Moscow. In short, the Russian-Japanese dialogue will gather momentum as Boris Yeltsin's visit becomes nearer.

Russia gives priority to the improvement of relations with its immediate neighbors and also to countries located not far from its borders. And there are reasons for this. Aleksandr Losyukov:

A stable, peaceful situation along the perimeters of our borders is a normal condition for economic progress within our country, for our trade with surrounding nations and for our integration into the economy of the Asian-Pacific region. Only progress along this road will ensure our country a worthy place in the region. We have given up the former policy of military build-up in the Pacific Basin in favor of the other, peaceful goals. We want to develop political cooperation and trade with all Asian-Pacific countries, both with immediate neighbors, and with those that are far away from us geographically.

PRC Delegation Begins Trade With Amur Oblast

OW1102141292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1445 GMT 2 Feb 92

[From the "Dalniy Vostok" program]

[Text] A government delegation from Heihe Prefecture [in Heilongjiang Province] in the People's Republic of China, headed by (Jiao Pixin), prefectural chief of administration, concluded three days of talks in Blagoveshchensk with a delegation from the Amur Oblast led by Valeriy Yakovlevich Bek-Bulatov, first deputy chief of oblast administration. [Video shows Chinese, Russian officials meeting]

A series of agreements on economic cooperation were signed during the talks.

After the talks concluded, correspondent Anatoliy Chernopisskiy interviewed Valeriy Yakovlevich Bek-Bulatov, the head of the Amur delegation.

[Begin video recording] [Chernopisskiy] How will our country benefit from all this?

[Bek-Bulatov] I think that this is not just the beginning but a continuation of the talks held in Harbin last June, when Heilongjiang Province and our oblast signed a five-year agreement on friendship, cooperation, and foreign economic ties.

A high-ranking Chinese delegation from Heihe has just visited us. We have discussed 45 different issues connected to trade, science, foreign economy, barter, and so on. We intend to constantly work on these issues. We think that our side, the Amur oblast, will benefit a great deal from this. First, today we have signed a fraternal agreement with Heihe Prefecture. This is the first time in many years that something like this has happened. Second, the Chinese comrades, after examining all the aspects relations with the Amur oblast, announced unequivocally that they will extend significantly favorable terms to the Amur Oblast.

Today we have agreed on the building of five or six joint enterprises. These are factories that will produce cigarettes, synthetic fabrics, cement, wine, and men's and women's sweaters. These will all employ Chinese workers, technology, and raw materials.

We have also seriously discussed the question of transporting foodstuffs to our oblast, especially since the Chinese comrades have told us that they will try and provide us with foodstuffs, children's clothes, and food for infants. They promised to keep the prices decent, too.

I think that today's talks, which lasted three days, will greatly benefit the Amur Oblast's foreign economic ties. [end recording]

Improving PRC Border Conditions Considered

LD0902030292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1820 GMT 8 Feb 92

[From the "External Economic Relations" section]

[Text] Khabarovsk—On February 7 issues of improving services rendered to Chinese and Russian citizens crossing the Russian-Chinese border in both directions were considered in Khabarovsk.

At a meeting between the commander of Far Eastern military border district, Lieutenant General Vladimir Butenko and the general council of Chinese People's Republic Consulate in Khabarovsk Sui Tsin, the parties expressed their intention to make the Russian-Chinese border a border of friendship. A suggestion was made to sign in May of the present year in Khabarovsk a draft agreement on cooperation of border services of China and Russia in the Far East.

PRC Fighter Pilots To Train in Krasnodar

LD1202231692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Excerpt] About 200 military pilots from China have begun classes at the Serov Joint Technical Flying School in Krasnodar. For six months they will be training to pilot our SU-27 planes which China has been the first country to purchase. Many of the pilots already have experience flying our other planes, the MiG, and simply have to be retrained. [passage omitted]

DPRK's Kim Chong-il's Comments on Socialism

SK1202230792 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean GMT 1000 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Unattributed talk from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Today's issue of PRAVDA carried materials furnished by NODONG SINMUN. NODONG SINMUN reported on excerpts of remarks by Kim Chong-il, member of the Political Bureau Presidium and secretary of the Workers Party Central Committee.

Kim Chong-il spoke to the party's core members. In the introduction of the article, PRAVDA pointed out that these materials are published in order to introduce the views of a neighboring country's leadership.

The paper quoted Kim Chong-il's remarks that socialism of our own style, which represents the people's interest, will achieve victory without fail. He also pointed out that the guiding cadres should adopt a correct work method to faithfully serve the masses.

According to Kim Chong-il, the most important issue in formulating the work method and work style that completely correspond to the socialist work is to consistently overcome bureaucracy.

Kim Chong-il stated that under today's condition wherein among cadre members there is a generational shift, even the popularity of those who have not been properly disciplined in a revolutionary manner may rise among the masses. Therefore, we should put forward the struggle to improve the work method and work style as an important task.

Kim Chong-il recognizes that the guiding cadres are not a special class. The guiding cadres should be servants of the people who take deep root in the masses. It is an important task for the guiding cadres to give priority to the people's interest by completely discarding their own individual personal interest.

Kim Chong-il pointed out that the guiding cadres should respect the people's honor and (?serve) the people with lofty humanity while timely resolving the questions pertaining to social and political life. The guiding cadres should discard any privilege and selfish desire and should maintain a sincere and selfless life, thus providing a fine example for the people.

Kim Chong-il also said that the guiding cadres should organize and mobilize the masses while giving ear to their voices and living among them. By mingling with the people, the guiding cadres can eliminate formalism, bureaucratism and other outdated work styles.

Kim Chong-il also pointed out: We are faced with impending tasks. We should vigorously wage the struggle to formulate the revolutionary work style and work method designed to give priority to the people. This is also required for consolidating the party which constitutes an entity together with the popular masses.

Freighter Detained in DPRK Port Dispute

LD0902233692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent Konstantin Belov from Pyongyang]

[Text] On 16 February Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Politburo, secretary of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee, supreme commander of the Korean People's Army, and son of the country's president, will be 50 years old. Relays of envoys are arriving in the capital with pledges of loyalty from the provinces. Amateur and professional entertainers are taking part in festivals and competitions in Pyongyang. They are reflecting deepest respect and devotion for the beloved leader in their performances.

These feelings grip not just the country's citizens but also many foreigners who currently find themselves in Korea. A meeting of foreign sailors devoted to the 50th anniversary has been held in the port of Nampo, on the west coast. They also included members of the crew of the dry cargo ship Sibirskiy-2114, which belongs to Centaur, a private shipping company in Vladivostok. The vessel is loading Korean straw which it will take to Japan. Speaking at the meeting, a member of the crew of the Sibirskiy-2114 stressed that Comrade Kim Chong-il, wisely guiding socialist construction, has got the entire country thinking the same way. He noted the beloved leader's boundless generosity and charm.

No doubt sailors from another ship registered in Vladivostok, Konstantin Petrovskiy, have not yet been infused with profound respect for the beloved leader. The dry cargo ship, which belongs to the Far Eastern shipping line, arrived in the port of Najin on the east coast on 27 January. After taking on 12,000 tonnes of coal, the vessel was ready to sail for Japan on 1 February. However, it was detained by the port management. It is still there.

It transpires that the owner of the cargo, Soyuzregion, an association run by open-cast coal miners in the Kuzbass, owes the port of Najin over $500,000 for storing and handling the coal. So, the management decided to make a hostage of the Konstantin Petrovskiy. For a week now the two sides have been arguing fruitlessly. Meanwhile, the ship is still in port and the shipping line is losing money.

Who knows, if the crew of the Konstantin Petrovskiy had appreciated the noble qualities of Comrade Kim Chong-il in time and let him know of this by congratulating him on his jubilee, he might have delved deeply into their problems and reached a quick and wise decision on who is right and who wrong in this dispute.

Fishing Agreement Signed With South Korea

LD0802092592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0300 GMT 6 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Palagutin]

[Text] Vladivostok, 6 Feb (TASS)—"The Okhotsk Sea triangle" has ceased to be "a stumbling block" in disputes between Russian and South Korean fishermen. According to Boris Sharapov, head of 'Dalryba's' foreign relations department, an intergovernmental agreement on regulating fishing in this region, which has been signed in Seoul, enables cooperation to be built on a mutually advantageous basis. For 30,000 tonnes of kalmar, pollock, and skipper caught in our waters, South Korean fishermen are committed to supplying Russia with the same quantity of mackerel, scad, and iwashi or to render assistance in providing our vessels with material and technical supplies.

Moscow Develops Ties With Vatican

OW1102174692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1557 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Report from Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moscow and the Vatican are developing official contacts but "a visit by John Paul II to Moscow is not yet on the agenda." Pyotr Startsev, a staffer of the First European Department, told DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that Moscow and the Vatican had relations at the level of permanent representatives. In March 1990 the Soviet Union opened up a representative office in the Vatican (it is a Russian embassy now) and sent there Ambassador Yuriy Karlov.

Papal Nuncio in Moscow Francesco Colasuonno made a formal request late last year to be considered the Vatican's representative in Russia.

Though a schedule for the papal visit to Moscow is not yet in place, the Russian and the Vatican representative offices stay in touch, said Startsev. The sides hold occasional consultations on a number of issues, including the activities of the Catholic Church in Russia. Last December this and some other issues were considered at the meeting between Boris Yeltsin and John Paul II during the Russian president's visit to the Vatican.

MiG-29's Offered to Israel for Hard Cash

LD1102174592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] It looks like the old appeal by Boris Yeltsin to the military to sell the weapons for currency and buy real estate is beginning to work at last. TASS reports that Russia has offered Israel ultramodern MiG-29's on one condition: payment in dollars, cash only. Everything is unusual in this deal, not just the demand for cash in a briefcase, but the address itself: Israel. Previously, our weapons were used only by the Arab side. Besides, in the opinion of the specialists, it is simply impossible to integrate the Russian planes into the Israeli weapons complex because they are different. At best, only one plane could be bought, for the Israeli intelligence service Mossad to dismantle it for its own requirements. Anyway, the offer stays open and this seems to be only the first scowl of Russian commerce, military style.

Kuwaiti Finance Minister Arrives in Moscow

LD1202204592 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—An economic government delegation from Kuwait led by Finance Minister Nasir 'Abdallah al-Ridan arrived in Moscow tonight.

The visit of high-ranking Kuwaiti officials is intended to strengthen and develop economic ties and discuss humanitarian aid to commonwealth member countries.

The delegation leader is expected to convey a personal message from the amir of Kuwait, Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, to the Russian president, Boris Yeltsin and meet Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar and other officials.

The Kuwaiti delegation will visit all other former Soviet republics, except Georgia.

Austrian Deals With Private Sector Endorsed

AU1102111292 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 10 Feb 92 p 8

[Interview with Mikhail Maley, "a Russian representative on the State Council", by Irina Podzhibyakin; place and date not given: "Those Who Come Now Will Stay"]

[Text] [Podzhibyakin] Mr. Maley, you are a Russian representative on the State Council and one of the most important advisers to President Boris Yeltsin. In your opinion, what directions are particularly promising regarding cooperation between business circles in Russia and Austria?

[Maley] What is most important is information. In Austria nobody knows the economic and industrial possibilities of Russia. What I am saying may sound paradoxical: Austria has been a longstanding partner of Russia, and Austrian business people may think they know our economy best. I could bet them a lot of money that they are not familiar with these possibilities, that we ourselves were not aware of 80 percent of these possibilities—I am speaking of the public at large. In addition, the picture is being distorted by the changes.

[Podzhibyakin] The West fears that everything is going to collapse....

[Maley] We are overcoming the crisis. In each country the first sign of this process is the stormy upswing in the construction sector. This means enterprises are needed for the production of installation technology, pipes, etc. We do not just need pipes, cocks, or bricks—Austria will not be able to supply the necessary material even only for the Smolensk area. We need enterprises to help set up enterprises.

The third direction is raw materials. If Austrian business people are interested I can tell them that areas that were closed to foreigners in the past will be made accessible. We are now tapping resources that were abandoned or considered unprofitable because of the old prices.

[Podzhibyakin] What resources are these?

[Maley] There are both money and heavy metals, crude oil, gas, coal. The north—the entire region around Tyumen—is a spoonful of crude oil, and Taymyr is a cup full of crude oil. We have huge reserves there. Production conditions are complicated. I am only talking of Russia, and not the Commonwealth of Independent States.

[Podzhibyakin] Many potential investors continue to be doubtful....

[Maley] The entire capitalist world has accused the USSR of having a militarized, state centralized economy, of lacking market economy skills, and has said that nothing will change until we introduce the market economy. Nobody expected it to happen so quickly.

All the processes took place 10 times faster than expected and created a paradoxical situation. Right now there are more than 600 stock exchanges in Russia, more than 1,400 banks, insurance companies...In short, there is a big capitalist world. It is not yet as perfect, lacks the glamour, and is not as organized as that of London or New York, but it works. There are capitalists who are not less skilled than Western ones.

At the same time, the Austrian chancellor, French business circles, and American businessmen with astonishing consistency are looking for a certain Minister Maley because they urgently want to talk to him and conclude agreements with him on setting up some wonderful project. They want guarantees from a government that will remain in office two to three months. All guarantees disappear along with the government.

[Podzhibyakin] Whom should one turn to?

[Maley] There are capitalists. They employ 12 million people in their sector. Out of the 42 million people in Russia who are fit for work—the total population being 88 million—12 million work in the non-state sector. They are particularly active people; one counts for two. This must not be underestimated.

Conclusions: First, one has to think along different lines. Instead of contacting all kinds of ministries and trying to get an appointment with Yeltsin, one should look for the president of the Russian Congress of Business People and try to obtain guarantees from this congress for each individual project. It has loads of money, billions of dollars. Its guarantees are worth more. The private sector's money can be compared only with the assets of the Russian Central Bank. A state within a state has been created.

[Podzhibyakin] What do you recommend to Austrian business people?

[Maley] To forget cooperation with the state sector. It will remain but enjoy gigantic autonomy. Under Russian law, a state director is comparable to a capitalist; he neither has to listen to the minister, nor the prime minister or president. He is controlled by 11 Russian laws but nothing else. It is incredible. The Austrians should turn to the private sector. There they will receive guarantees and information, there they will be told what government will come tomorrow and what position Maley will hold the day after tomorrow.

[Podzhibyakin] What arguments would you use to convince Austrians of parting with a policy of "wait-and-see?"

[Maley] The first thing they should do is to collect money—each would have to give five schillings—and buy a complete collection of Russian statutes. I bet that nobody has it, not even the federal chancellor. Even if he gets it after a great delay, he will certainly not have all the amendments and decrees of the Russian Government. Yet, they contain everything that is important for economic life—what one is allowed to do and what not. If a decree rules that anything is allowed, the Finance Ministry will impose restrictions. If one does not know these, one pays higher taxes or does not even dare to conclude certain business transactions.

As far as the policy of wait-and-see is concerned, I would like to stress with satisfaction that as far as President Yeltsin and the Russian Government are concerned, I was able to make the best of the reluctant position of the Japanese. Japan will wait until we create yet another island around all the Japanese islands. Well, let them wait. I say that with satisfaction, because I was against establishing contacts with them. Not just against a return of the islands but against any contact at all. They wait—so let them wait. The Japanese want to wait 15 years—we will see what they will be waiting for in five years.

[Podzhibyakin] So what should Austrian business circles do?

[Maley] They must not wait. They have to be there now—in hungry Moscow, in the incomprehensible governments of incomprehensible republics. They should spend five schillings to get information. If they are late—Austria is a small country....

I recently went to the United States. The Americans said: Let China, Hong Kong, and Europe develop the Russian market—we will go there afterwards and buy the market or drive away the others. So, unless one hurries up now, holds one's own there now, the big countries will come. They will not help us reconstruct the country; anybody knows what the Russian territory means, the great raw material resources, the scientific-technological potential. Then the smaller countries will not stand a chance any more.

I would give the Austrians the following advice: Do not act via the state structures, but via Russian capitalists. They know very well where you can get what, where you can establish yourself without having to pay $800 for one square meter.

They should come. They can come and we will be glad to welcome them. There is a Russian saying: The spoon is worth gold at noon. We need this spoon now. Those who want to bring it later will come too late. Those who come now will stay.

U.S. To Return War Archives to Republic

OW1002182492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1604 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Archive Committee of the Russian Government Rudolf Pikhoya reported that an agreement was signed with the United States on the return of archival documents seized by German forces in Smolensk during WWII. The archives were turned over to the United States after the war.

Speaking at a news conference in Moscow Monday [10 February] Pikhoya stated that the archive center, which holds, among others, Communist Party and KGB documents, is finished gathering documents. The Center's presentation will take place on February 25. Pikhoya remarked that documents containing government secrets would not be available for inspection.

Russia's head archivist feels that serious difficulties stem from the lack of laws concerning archives and government secrets.

Grain Freighters Detained in Canada

PM1302121592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 1

[Report from roundup of PRAVDA, ITAR, and TASS reports under the "Newsbeat" rubric]

[Text] Two diesel-powered grain freighters, the Marshal Grechko and the Akademik Sechenov, registered in Novorossiysk, have been detained in Canada and are now drifting in the Cabot Strait while they wait for the authorities' decision. Vladimir Sakovich, chief of the Novorossiysk shipping company's fleet operation administration, has explained that they have been detained because of the inertia and lack of money of "Eksportkhleb"—the grain freighters' chief charterer.

Two Other Ships Sent

OW1202194692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1734 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Grain cargo on two ships belonging to the Novorossisk Shipping Company, the "Marshal Grechko" and the "Academic Sechenov", has been taken into custody by Canadian officals for unpaid freight costs owed by the "Exportkhleb" firm, the shipping company told IF [INTERFAX]. Offical sources said that two more Novorossisk ships, the "Marshal Zhukov" and the "Marshal Govorov", are on their way to Canada to pick up grain shipments.

KGB Archival Materials To Return to Lithuania

LD1202190292 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov met with Deputy Lithuanian Prime Minister Zigmas Vaishvila on Wednesday [12 February] to discuss the return to Lithuania of KGB archival materials throwing light on its secret activities in the republic, Lenginas Vasilyauskas, press secretary of the Lithuanian Embassy in Moscow, told ITAR-TASS.

The question of the return of materials was first raised by Lithuanian parliamentary leader Vitautas Landsbergis during his meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin on January 17.

Baltic Talks on Dividing Transport Eyed

PM1202154192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Taranov: "Russia and Baltic Countries Want To Divide Transport Without Unnecessary Disputes"]

[Text] The transport ministries of Russia and the Baltic countries have reached agreement in principle on ways of dividing the transport resources that were owned by the USSR.

IZVESTIYA has already reported that the talks on dividing Union property are not going very easily. Thus, citing ETA, our correspondent commented on the results of the pre-New Year meeting of transport specialists in Moscow, where Russia's interests were allegedly infringed and the largest CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] state "lost" its aircraft, ships, and also the right to use Novotallinnskiy port on advantageous terms. However, this categorical opinion bewildered both the Russian Transport Ministry and Estonian Deputy Transport Minister Enn Sarap [name as transliterated], who denied the agency report.

The point is that the main subject of the talks is not so much the "physical" division of transport resources and everything associated with them as the principles of interstate cooperation in the sphere of transport operations. In particular, the sides agreed to allow unhindered passage to transport, freight, passengers, baggage, and mail throughout their territories, including transit passage to third countries. Moreover, without taxes or monetary dues. All four states recognize the licenses issued in them to be in control of transport. That is, a driver's license or pilot's diploma will be valid in both Russia and the Baltic countries. Moreover, the participants in the talks pledged to inform each other of changes in their countries' transport legislation and to solve all disputed questions only on the basis of treaties and agreements. That is, a situation whereby one of the four republics introduces unilateral bans or something of the kind is excluded.

As regards ownership, the solution to this question can be achieved by issuing shares in facilities of mutual interest. For Russia this primarily means the refrigerated fleet, bulk carriers for transporting liquid freight, and ports and port installations. For the Baltic countries it means the Kama Truck Plant, the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant, and their output.

The Baltic states are to present a more detailed list of facilities of interest to them in February. After they have been compared with the Russian side's list it is proposed to draw up appropriate agreements. In the opinion of experts, reciprocal share issues will help to avoid settlements in freely convertible currency when transport facilities are utilized. Apart from anything else, by recognizing former Union republics' right to common Union property located on their territory, Russia is ridding itself and its partners of extremely irritable and fruitless disputes about how to divide what was already effectively divided the moment the republics proclaimed independence.

Release of Baltic 'Political Prisoners' Urged

PM0502115792 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Feb 92 p 5

[Report by L. Sergeyev: "Release Them"]

[Text] Moscow—Almost every Sunday mass rallies are held at the Estonian, Lithuanian, and Latvian permanent missions in Moscow: People are demanding that political prisoners in the Baltic states be released. The

powerful wave of social protest has borne its first fruits. M. Lysenko and I. Shepelevich, leaders of the workers movement, have been released from Estonian prisons. But S. Krylov and V. Belov are still languishing in torture chambers in Tallinn, A. Rubiks and S. Parfenov are still prisoners at the Riga detention center, and V. Ivanov and A. Smotkin have been arrested in Vilnius.

"Our rallies will not cease until all these people are able to return to their families and until the lawlessness of nationalist careerists is stopped," Ye. Kogan, secretary of the committee for the defense of political prisoners, said.

Economic Treaty With Belarus Issued

PM1102144392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Text of "Agreement Between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus on Removing Barriers to Economic Activity," carried under "Business and the Law" rubric]

[Text] For the purpose of creating the most favorable economic and legal conditions for the entrepreneurial activity of all kinds of economic structures and the development of market relations and broad economic ties between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus the Contracting Parties have agreed the following:

Article 1

Trading and economic relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus are carried out within a single economic area on the basis of mutual advantage.

Article 2

The organs of power and management of the parties to this agreement, both at their centers and local level, take all necessary coordinated economic, legal, and organizational measures ensuring freedom of enterprise and the sale, acquisition, and movement of goods, work, services, and investments on their own territories and between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus.

Article 3

A single monetary unit (the ruble) is used as the means of financial settlement, money circulation, granting of credit, and other kinds of financial transactions on the territories of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus.

The Governments of Russia and Belarus and their central banks provide arrangements for the unhindered movement of all kinds of monetary resources.

The central banks systematically inform each other about the volumes of credit and money issue and the state of money circulation.

Article 4

Enterprises and organizations of all legal organizational forms registered on the territory of the Contracting States are entitled to set up subsidiary enterprises, branches, departments, offices, and other individual subunits on the territory of the other state without let or hindrance provided the appropriate legislation is observed.

Article 5

In their activity and economic transactions on the territory of the other Contracting State, enterprises and organizations of all kinds of ownership comply with the latter's tax system.

Article 6

The organs of power and management of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus pursue an active antimonopoly policy, support the new economic relations, and do not allow the adoption of normative acts which restrict the free development of market relations.

Article 7

For the purpose of priority implementation of bilateral treaties on deliveries of goods the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus conduct a coordinated export-import policy in respect of goods and services of substantial significance to the exchange of commodities between the parties to this agreement.

The governments of the Contracting Parties pledge not to introduce additional payments for transportation across their territory (transit) by any means of transportation, including pipelines. This procedure applies to all kinds of freight, including export and import freight.

Article 8

A bilateral intergovernmental commission is created for the elaboration and pursual of specific measures in execution of this agreement and the monitoring of its observance by the organs of management of the government of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus.

Moscow, 27 January 1992

Return of OMON Official From Latvia Viewed

LD0702174692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2028 GMT 5 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Sergey Parfenov, former deputy commander of the Riga Special Purpose Militia Detachment (OMON), "may be returned to

Russia quite soon." That is the view of Sergey Shakhray, deputy prime minister of the Russian cabinet, who headed the republic's state delegation at the recent talks with the Baltic countries. Konstantin Yeliseyev, Shakhray's press secretary, conveyed this information to an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

The 31-year-old Parfenov, from Riga, was arrested by representatives of the Latvian Procuracy three months ago in Surgut (Tyumen Oblast in Siberia) and deported to Latvia. This action was sanctioned by the Russian Procuracy. Parfenov is specifically accused of exceeding his official authority and carrying out illegal acts. His arrest gave rise to widespread protests among the Russian public, which accused the government of pandering to Latvian authorities who are seeking to settle political scores with Parfenov.

According to Yeliseyev, "Parfenov was not mentioned at the official talks" of the Russian state delegation in Riga. As Shakhray said, however, "on the basis of a request by the family (of Parfenov) and the fact that any citizen of a state must enjoy that state's protection, wherever he may be, the Russian delegation discussed Parfenov's fate in confidential meetings."

The republic's leadership has not ruled out the possibility that Parfenov will be returned under certain conditions, Yeliseyev reported the deputy prime minister as saying. "Parfenov may be returned to Russia quite soon," Shakhray said.

Experts Cast Doubt on Ukraine-Iran Oil Accord

LD1002030792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1807 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] Experts from the Russian Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering have reported in an interview with INTERFAX that the agreement signed in Kiev for the supply of Iranian gas and oil to Ukraine raises many questions regarding its economic feasibility. The agreement makes provision for building three trunk pipelines from Iran across the territory of Azerbaijan. But it makes no mention of laying any pipelines across Russian territory as the optimum route. Russia was not involved in signing the agreement.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Appoints Political Issues Councillor

LD1302101892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0500 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] By decree of President Yeltsin, Sergey Stankevich, Russian Federation state councillor for relations with public associations, has been appointed state councillor on political issues. Examination of various political projects and consultations with the president on problems of current policy will be added to his area of responsibilities.

Presidential, Government Appointments Reported

PM1202161792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Feb 92 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Appointments"]

[Text] Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Abramov and Andrey Fedorovich Dunayev are appointed Russian Federation first deputy ministers of internal affairs.

Aleksandr Nikolayevich Kulikov, Petr Grigoryevich Mishchekov, Vitaliy Borisovich Turbin, and Vladimir Petrovich Strashko are appointed Russian Federation deputy ministers of internal affairs.

Igor Nikolayevich Kozhevnikov is appointed Russian Federation deputy minister of internal affairs and chief of the Investigations Committee.

Leonid Alekseyevich Glushak is appointed first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Presidential Committee for the Affairs of Servicemen and Their Families; German Stepanovich Alekseyev, Vladimir Filiminovich Baranov, and Albert Ivanovich Khraptovich are appointed deputy chairmen of this committee.

Yuriy Serafimovich Chernov is appointed acting head of administration of the city of Voronezh in Voronezh Oblast.

Valeriy Nikolayevich Koval is appointed acting head of administration of the city of Tambov in Tambov Oblast.

Yevgeniy Yuryevich Sidorov has been appointed Russian Federation minister of culture.

Yeltsin Meets 'Democratic Russia' Leaders

OW1202132492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1055 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [11 February], President Boris Yeltsin met with a group of parliamentarians belonging to the DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA [DR] movement, the organizer of the pro-government rally outside Moscow's White House last Sunday [9 February].

IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent quotes one of the meeting participants as saying that Yeltsin expressed satisfaction with the fact that such a rally did take place, although he seemed somewhat puzzled to see the government reforms—clearly painful and unpopular—muster public support of so large a scale.

The DR leaders handed the president the rally's resolution which "was accepted with careful attention."

Polls Shows Yeltsin Has Majority's Favor

MK1102145792 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 2

[Leonid Keselman and Mariya Matskevich "Poll": "In the Eyes of Majority President Is Still Right. Mainly They Are People With Higher Education"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—The St. Petersburg Center for the Study and Forecasting of Social Processes and the Moscow branch of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions, and Samara's "Prognoz" MGP [expansion unknown] have conducted the first joint poll of residents of Russia's three largest cities. More than 2,000 people were polled in Samara, roughly the same number in Moscow, and roughly 2,500 in St. Petersburg.

The figures received illustrate that only 16 percent of Muscovites, 17 percent of Samara residents, and 20 percent of St. Petersburg residents categorically disagree with the idea that "the Russian president's activity is helping to extricate the country from economic crisis." Moreover, some other townspeople are not entirely sure about this.

Overall it cannot be said that the population of the different regions has a unified view of the Russian president's activity.

Of course, the Russian leader has known better times. In September, 78 percent of St. Petersburg residents believed that the victorious president's activity would help resolve the problems facing the country, while only 15 percent did not believe this. But at the end of November, when the Russian president announced the coming "price liberation," the number of his supporters had dropped to 47 percent and the number of his opponents had risen to 30 percent. Yet then we only had a speculative idea of the scale of the difficulties that we would have to encounter with the beginning of liberalization. Today (when the gap between prices and the population's incomes has clearly caused the quality of life to deteriorate for most people, and only 15 percent have managed to retain their normal food ration) the increase in the number of "nonbelievers" from 30 to 40 percent is a more than modest "payoff."

By and large people employed in the new nonstate economy in all three cities support Boris Yeltsin's current activity to an appreciably greater degree than those working "for the state." This is particularly noticeable in St. Petersburg and somewhat less so in Samara.

In general the higher a person's education, the more likelihood there is of his being one of the Russian president's supporters. This logic is manifested most clearly in St. Petersburg and somewhat less so in Moscow. There is virtually no sign of this trend in Samara.

Of course, those people who have succeeded in preserving their customary standard of living since prices have been freed have more confidence in the person who takes responsibility for it. But those whose quality of life has clearly deteriorated have far less confidence in the president.

The president today enjoys most support among those who believe that the "present freeing of prices is helping the country escape from the economic crisis." Among these people in Samara, Moscow, and St. Petersburg there are respectively two, three, and almost four times the number of his supporters as among those who do not believe in the success of the incipient economic reform.

Attitude of Various Population Groups in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Samara to the Russian President's Activity (January 1992)

Russian president's activity is helping extricate country from economic crisis	Agree			Disagree		
Moscow	St. Petersburg	Samara	Moscow	St. Petersburg	Samara	
City's Population as a Whole	43	40	36	32	34	36
Women	43	40	33	29	33	38
Men	43	40	39	35	36	34
Age under 30	43	40	30	33	30	42
Age 30-45	41	42	37	32	36	34
Age 45-60	46	40	38	31	33	33
Age over 60	45	36	41	31	40	36
Unqualified Workers	29	39	29	30	34	36
Qualified Workers	42	33	36	36	38	36
Unqualified Employees	33	37	29	22	40	41

Employees with Secondary Qualification	45	39	37	23	36	32
Students and Pupils	52	48	36	24	25	36
Technical Intelligentsia	43	47	43	34	29	30
Humanities Intelligentsia	52	51	38	32	31	37
Leadership Personnel	48	45	44	30	30	36
Servicemen and Militia	40	36	50	43	33	28
People Employed at State Enterprises	42	38	34	32	35	37
People Employed in the "New Economy"	45	52	46	35	29	37
Nonworking Pensioners	48	36	38	30	38	39
Education: Below Secondary	33	26	30	27	42	40
Secondary	42	40	33	30	36	34
Higher	45	47	33	34	29	41

Rutskoy Meets Yeltsin, Many Views 'Identical'

LD1202221892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 12 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today, following a long break, President Yeltsin spoke to Aleksandr Rutskoy. After his treatment, the vice president has acquired a noticeable limp, and lost 20 kg of weight. According to him, his meeting with the president started with a firm handshake.

[Begin Rutskoy video recording, addressing what seems to be a news conference] To tell you the truth, while walking to the meeting with Yeltsin, I could hardly walk, my foot giving me pain. Yet when I walked back here to my office, I could not even feel any pain in my foot, you see. That is how it was. I have been in such good spirits because Boris Nikolayevich and I had our frank exchange. You know, we have found that very many of the views we hold are identical. I always have said that he is an interesting man, you see. Today, when I called on him, I was pleased to see him walking toward me, smiling. We said to each other: Hello, how are you? We had not spoken like this for a long time. I have just written a draft decree on my duties on behalf of the president. And Boris Nikolayevich asked me to look at the materials of the farmers congress and make a very careful study of it, a very careful study. All the issues raised at the congress must be resolved immediately, in 1992. Think about what can be done today and what can be done tomorrow, he said. Perhaps even some military machinery should be sold to foreign states. This money could then be put into conversion. Everything is intertwined. That is what we talked about today. And he asked me to think about these things. Report back when you are ready, he said. Set out your position, as a vice president, in a document in a clear and distinct way. [end recording]

Rutskoy's Politics, Yeltsin Meeting Viewed

LD1202223192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Commentary by correspondent Svanidze over video report featuring Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy at various functions; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A bright and original figure, the Russian vice president compels us in earnest to reckon with his popularity. Various political movements that suffer from having no major leader are trying to attract his benevolent attention. The Manezh Communists have no hope in this respect, of course. They poured too much mud on him at one time, regarding him as a renegade. Nationalists, on the other hand, have managed to obtain from Rutskoy some signs of benevolence in the form of a speech at the meeting they held in the Rossiya cinema. Aware that he is politically a desirable figure, Aleksandr Vladimirovich has so far failed to define his politics, and therefore found himself in a rather piquant, albeit somewhat pleasant, position. The hand of the vice president belongs to the lawful Russian power, but his heart seems to be free. However, Rutskoy is a candid politician. And the situation pushes him to make a definite choice. At the same time Yeltsin's position is complex. The tough

formulation of the question about the duties of the vice president may well push Rutskoy away toward the opposition. As a result, today's conversation between the two Russian leaders has cleared up a great deal but not everything. Rutskoy stays with Yeltsin. But it is not clear whether he has finally made his choice or just put it off.

Volkogonov on Future Russian Army

MK1202093092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 1

[Interview with Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov by unnamed correspondent; place and date not given: "Colonel General Dm. Volkogonov: 'A Place May Also Be Found for General Lobov in the New Structures'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The presidents of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] are to determine their position in Minsk 14 February on the combined strategic deterrence forces (status, personnel, deployment, funding, and so on). They also have to agree on a transitional period of 18 months or two years and set up an interstate committee or commission to settle all matters pertaining to the division of the former USSR's Armed Forces.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Are all the general-purpose forces to be divided up?

[Volkogonov] I do not think so. Why does any republic need an attack tank army? Up to 55 percent of the former Army may first be included in the joint armed forces, and then everything should be cut back in the course of reform.

Russia has frequently said it will not be the first to set up armed forces. There will come a time after the Minsk meeting when we will have to announce that we are setting up our own Russian army. There will be a presidential decree, most likely after 14 February.

The Russian armed forces must incorporate an army, navy, MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] troops, border troops (if they do not remain with the CIS), a defense ministry, a general staff, rear services, a committee for working with personnel, and certain other management organs. All troops on Russian territory, along with troops outside the CIS (Germany, Poland, the Baltics, and so on), must be part of the Russian army.

The armed forces must be reformed and cut back in accordance with the new defense doctrine, the essence of which is that the army should prevent global and local armed conflicts and defend Russian sovereignty. Preventing conflicts should also be the basis of CIS defense doctrine.

Over the next few years the Russian army should for the most part become a professional army. A world war is virtually impossible now, at any rate since the meeting in Camp David between Presidents Yeltsin and Bush. I was present during the two presidents' conversation. President Yeltsin, as you know, put forward—and President Bush warmly supported—the idea of a strategic alliance between our countries. In these circumstances the Russian army should not exceed 1.5 million men (most likely even fewer will be required). It will be a mobile, professional, combat-capable army ready for regional conflicts (and thus ready to avert them).

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] But how in practice can the former Union Defense Ministry and General Staff be divided up? How can they be carved up? What should be left with the CIS Main Commissariat and what should be handed over to Russia?

[Volkogonov] These are specialized questions. I would personally agree to the Russian Defense Ministry being made a civilian department and all operational management of the army being handed over to the General Staff. The Defense Ministry should implement a policy of military development and tackle funding, arms purchases, social security for servicemen, and so on. For the first year or 18 months the first Russian military minister may even be a military man. However, perhaps we should make up our minds and appoint a civilian right away.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Army General Vladimir Lobov, former chief of the General Staff, vigorously put forward a similar program after August 1991. As a result he was removed from his post.

[Volkogonov] General Lobov is one of the most prominent military specialists at present. I do not know the specific reason for his being removed, but I do think that a fitting place will be found in the new defense structures for both Marshal Shaposhnikov, who is currently the best commander in chief of the strategic forces, and for General Lobov. Russia and the army need both men. I think that they should hold out their hands to one another if there has indeed been some kind of misunderstanding between them. The Russian army also needs Generals Grachev and Kobets. They showed themselves at their best during the events of August, unlike the bulk of the top brass where wait-and-see sentiments prevailed. It is not up to me, but to the president, what position each of them holds.

I wrote a note to Boris Nikolayevich suggesting that Defense Ministry military structures be preserved at first, with a view to gradually switching to civilian structures. The current Defense Ministry and General Staff must be the basis for the creation of new Russian structures. This will be faster and simpler. Defense Ministry directorates may gradually become civilian directorates, even with a military minister.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] What if they do not succeed in reaching consensus in Minsk on defense issues again?

[Volkogonov] The talks must be continued all the same. The worst talks are better than the best war. Perhaps we

should start signing agreements with the independent states with which mutual understanding has been reached and the others will follow later. We must not find ourselves in a vague position. The Kiev leadership will also have to agree that a transitional period is needed. No crisis can last forever—everything will ultimately be straightened out and the problems will be solved. I tell you that as a historian.

Remarks on Defense Post

MK1202150092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 1

[Pavel Felgengauer report under the "Army" rubric: "Decision Adopted: Russia Will Create Own Army. General Grachev or General Kobets May Hold Post of Defense Minister"]

[Excerpts] On Saturday 8 February there was a session of the former Union Defense Ministry Collegium (now the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Main Commissariat). There were two important issues on the agenda: a package of documents for the CIS presidents' Minsk meeting, and the design of a new military uniform "for the transitional period" (through 1995). It seems that an historic decision will be adopted shortly: The army will no longer wear the traditional greatcoats but insulated raincoats [plashch] and jackets. [passage omitted]

The main problem now is who specifically will become defense minister. After all, it is an individual [personalnyy] appointment, as is often the case in Russia, that will determine the thrust of the future transformations.

The number of military chiefs with a definite political complexion, moreover, is extremely narrow. Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov and Generals Grachev, Kobets, and Volkogonov. Marshal Shaposhnikov is CIS commander in chief and therefore cannot become a Russian minister. General Volkogonov has assured NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent that he would definitely refuse if he were offered this honor, just as he has already refused several posts of authority in the last year or two. Accordingly there are just two candidates left: Generals Kobets and Grachev. One of them will become Russian defense minister over the next few days.

Presidential Adviser Quoted on Military Reform

OW1302124792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1048 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An advisor of the Russian president Galina Starovoytova expects concrete steps toward a military reform in the nearest future. At a consultative meeting of public organizations of servicemen in Moscow she said that there are plans to adopt a new military-strategic doctrine, form a new army and determine a new structure of the armed forces. According to Ms. Starovoytova, the planned reduction of troops by 700,000 men will be conducted mostly at the expense of conscripts, not officers. She also stressed the need to form a peacekeeping force according to the UN pattern. "The need for such a force might appear in the near future, she said, and one of the possible places of operation will be Central Asia from where 3 to 5 million Russian-speaking refugees are expected." The advisor said that the General Staff will probably be removed from the structure of the Defence Ministry. It will deal only with strategic and tactical issues while the ministry should be in charge of the socioeconomic aspects of defence.

It has also been suggested to make a civilian the Defence Minister. Ms. Starovoytova said she is one of the possible candidates, but is opposed to such an appointment.

Says Arms Supplies To Continue

LD1302134392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] As the USSR's successor, the Russian Federation intends to continue arms supplies under long-term contracts concluded by the former Union leadership. Russian People's Deputy Galina Starovoytova said this in an interview for a RIKA correspondent. We will supply arms to countries to which no international embargo applies, she stressed. However, the Russian Government still has to decide what to do about contracts for arms supplies to Iran, Pakistan, Iraq, and Libya.

Differences in Top Echelons Viewed

PM1302105792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by Miroslav Buzhkevich: "Trio Resembling Quartet"]

[Text] It is not the guard that gets up early but our impoverished population. Some go to stand in line for milk or bread and some simply go to the stores with their empty shelves in the hope that something will be put on sale. These are the times that has come—the transition to the market economy has begun. We were warned it would be hard. Clenching their teeth, people are still enduring and hoping that the fathers of the reform—the presidents, governments, and parliaments—will eventually lead their states and peoples toward a life worthy of man.

Let us leave aside for a while the arguments about the merits and shortcomings of the programs adopted for the transition to the market. That is a special topic. Let us look at the development of events from another angle. Russia was the first to set off on the path to the market. A new government was formed, headed by the president himself. A government of professional like-minded people. Parliament accepted it quite favorably. And some people, somewhat over-hastily, proclaimed a government of the people's trust.

A powerful bloc took shape: the parliament, the Russian president, who had received a number of important additional powers, with his own substantial administration, and the Cabinet of Ministers. It is this trio which has to perform a truly heroic symphony: In very hard political, economic, and social circumstances they must avert the catastrophe which threatens the enormous state. But with the first bars discordant, false notes were heard.

Not two weeks had elapsed since the liberalization of prices, which in fact resulted in their sharp increase with an overall shortage of goods and foods, before there was a sensational statement from the parliament chairman on the possible resignation of the government. In his opinion it is unqualified, incompetent, and incapable. And therefore the president should distance himself from it. But how to do that? Obviously (yet again) the ministers must be replaced.

Actually, for those who have attentively followed life on Russia's political Olympus that statement contains nothing unexpected. Back when the new government was presented at a session, some of its members who had received key posts heard similar rebukes from the same lips. That was said to "take in hand" the embryonic reformers: Remember who the supreme power is here, they were told.

Listening to the Russian leaders' different statements and reading the presidential decrees and parliament and government resolutions, you cannot help wondering whether they are not too involved with asserting their own monopoly on decision-making on fundamental problems of the life of the Federation. You can hear the familiar question of Ostap Bender's glorious fellow fighters Panikovskiy and Balaganov, who grabbed hold of each other and demanded: "But who are you?" The actual dispute over the allocation of roles between the legislative and executive authorities is essentially utterly illogical because the division of their powers was determined long ago. The former creates the legal field for the actions of the presidential administration and government. Alas, very often this division is forgotten or entirely ignored. As a result duplication arises in the activity of the "trio" members.

For instance, take parliament. As well as making laws it is of course designed to perform monitoring functions. It is very important to it that the laws which have been adopted are executed in full, to the end. But the Russian parliament has recently become noticeably obsessed with its monitoring hobby. An operational-coordination group has appeared headed by Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman V. Shumeyko. It would seem that there was nothing special, that everything was logical—in the present hard times the parliament should listen sensitively to the pulse of life of the Russian Federation and respond swiftly to interruptions in it. But there is a cautionary detail. This group, whose main function is a consultative one, has its own power representatives locally coming from the ranks of the people's deputies. And where there are powers there are also specific rights. And what is the result? In the oblasts and krays and autonomous republics there is already the institution of administration heads and personal representatives of the president. Now fully empowered parliamentary representatives are being added to them. Are there not too many chiefs? And will they be able to act in harmony? Life is answering these questions quite often in the negative. Reports are appearing in the press about the clashes which are appearing, about the confrontation between these representatives and the personal representatives.

There is a draft law and relevant draft parliamentary resolution on the structure of executive power and appointment to the most important posts in it. From the viewpoint of the law this step is perhaps expedient. But it has not been to the taste of many of the powers that be. The result is that parliament will not only "bless" the list of ministries and other departments but also examine the candidacies of ministers and vice premiers. Some politicians assess this as an attempt to restrict the functions of the president himself and to deprive him of additional powers provided by the Congress of People's Deputies. This is one more "hot" spot in mutual relations between parliament and the government which in no way promotes their solidary actions.

Many "knots" have been tied in the relations between the president's administration and the Cabinet of Ministers and parliament. The main complaints are that this administration's swollen apparatus has adopted the style which once existed in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers. There is red tape involving the solution of important questions, the mysterious disappearance of documents and official letters and the "slipping" to the president, out of turn, of the drafts of dubious decrees. That is what happened with the decree on the formation of the amalgamated Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs. The one which was initially rejected by parliament and then definitively "killed" by the Constitutional Court. It transpires that the coordination of actions of the executive power leadership is only a show. At the same time the opinion exists in parliament that some people from the president's closest entourage are purposefully seeking to belittle the role of the Supreme Soviet. This was stated unambiguously last Friday at a plenary session of the chambers.

There are various explanations for the very complex situation that has taken shape in the top echelons of Russian power. PRAVDA has already examined in detail the content and positions of the "Analytic Note" published in a number of newspapers about two weeks ago by the "RF [Russian Federation] - Policy" research center devoted to the "subversive" role of the former party apparatchiks who have taken up residence in the Russian president's immediate entourage. Unfortunately I have not managed to get in touch with its authors—the editorial office of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA where this document was also published said that they do not yet want to make their names public.

Without casting the slightest doubt on their right to draw any conclusions and generalizations on the basis of their research, I nonetheless note that they may involuntarily have made a blatant mistake in creating their own image of a president who allows dubious decrees to be "slipped" to him, who is led by some people, and allows "awkward statements." B. Yeltsin is a dynamic politician with the ability to sense people's moods. Although naturally he has made mistakes and blunders and has human biases. But let him determine for himself his attitude toward the "Analytic Note."

I want to note that it is not only the former partycrats who are having a hand in the disputes between the president's apparatus, the government, and parliament. The progressive democrats must also take the blame in that sense.

About six weeks ago the president's state and legal administration [gosudarstvenno-pravovoye upravleniye] was created, with a very frightening abbreviation—GPU [former State Political Directorate]. The range of powers of the new GPU is so wide that you cannot list everything. Its chief, subordinate only to the president, approves the decrees and resolutions of the president himself and of the government before they are signed. The new administration's purview includes questions of civil defense, citizenship, clemency, awards, state nationalities policy, and much else. The GPU is in charge of the organs of defense, state security, justice, the prosecutor's office, and the militia. Who is this all-powerful man? S. Shakhray, vice premier of the government, Russian Federation state adviser for legal policy, and member of parliament, has been appointed chief of the GPU. Even for someone with no legal education it is obvious to the naked eye as the saying goes that the three powers—legislative, executive, and legal—are merged into the hands of one man. And that is all done under the future protection of the rule-of-law state for which the democrats, including S. Shakhray himself, fought without sparing themselves.

Obviously aware of the delicacy of the problem which has arisen, S. Shakhray's fellow fighter, Russian Federation Justice Minister N. Fedorov, at a recent press conference cautiously defined the GPU as an unusual state power formation. Then his soul as a professional lawyer could stand it no longer and he keenly criticized from the legal viewpoint the draft law S. Shakhray had prepared on responsibility for the nonexecution of Russian Federation legislation. So that the charge of creating a crisis of executive power—a charge leveled at the former partycrats and now at those who have ended up in the president's immediate entourage—can evidently also be leveled at the democrats. This was also confirmed by 9 February's meeting near the "White House," where there were calls of "down with" the leaders of parliament. The government also "caught it."

No one imagines idyllic relations between parliament and the government. Arguments here are inevitable—life is life. Only these disputes cannot have anything in common with behind the scenes games.

Russia is gravely ill and among the healers gathered at her bedside are many who are more concerned for their own ambitions than for the healing of the patient. And how are we to know whether the "trio" who shape the country's fate will play the entire score of the symphony which will boost the people's morale and forces. Or whether it will be "requalified" as Krylov's quartet, with whom everyone is familiar [reference to Krylov fable in which a quartet of musically untalented animals believe it is their failure to find a correct seating arrangement that is preventing them from playing well]. It will be a pity if that happens. One will be sorry for the authorities and for the people. For the people who just a few months ago nearly believed in the salutary mission of the work superintendents of the market.

Karbaynov Removed From Security Ministry Post

PM1202143592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 8

[Sergey Mostovshchikov report: "KGB General Karbaynov Did Not Communicate With the Public"]

[Text] Since the start of the current week Viktor Barannikov, new chief of the former KGB, has been engaged in reviewing the cadres in his department responsible for the Russian Security Ministry's public relations. On the morning of 4 February General Aleksandr Karbaynov was informed of his dismissal from the post of chief of the Public Relations Center, which has a staff of around 60. Viktor Barannikov then confirmed new people in the basic leading posts in the Public Relations Center, who will immediately start rebuilding the Russian Security Ministry's relations with the population in general and journalists in particular.

The dismissal of Aleksandr Karbaynov from the leadership of the Public Relations Center could, in observers' opinion, be down to at least a few reasons. First and foremost the general (who was in the past, incidentally, deputy chief of the "Z" Directorate, responsible in the former KGB for combating enemies of the constitutional system) liaised with the public under both Kryuchkov and Bakatin, which could well compromise him in the eyes of the new boss.

According to another version, the general's fate was decided by Supreme Soviet deputies who deemed that Aleksandr Karbaynov showed excessive zeal during the unlawful merger of the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD]. And, finally, some do not consider that everything is so complicated. The cadre redeployment can be put down to the fact that Viktor Barannikov simply intends to give key posts to his own people, people on whom he can count and rest assured.

Skeptics, however, have doubts about this calm, as the person appointed first deputy chief of the Public Relations Center responsible for working with the domestic

and foreign press is 47-year-old Major General Aleksandr Gurov, well known in recent years for not only vigorously combating the mafia, but also for sincerely stating that what he is combating does really exist. The general, transferred a few months back from the MVD to the KGB system because of misunderstanding by his leadership of the problem of the pervasiveness of organized crime, has a reputation in certain circles of being highly professional, but uncontrollable.

The journalist Andrey Chernenko, who until recently was chief of the MVD Public Relations Center, working there with Barannikov, has been appointed Aleksandr Gurov's immediate chief as leader of the Russian Security Ministry Public Relations Center. In the opinion of the professionals, a journalist at a general's post is a kind of symbol that the Russian Security Ministry does not intend to become a secret type of organization again. Although, of course, the rank of general still has to be earned. For the time being the journalist Andrey Chernenko is a colonel.

Industry Minister To Visit Sakhalin 13 Feb

OW1202190492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1724 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Russian government delegation headed by the Russian Industry Minister Aleksandr Titkin arrives in Sakhalin Thursday [13 February] to take part in the February 15 conference on Russia's participation in developing the Sakhalin oil and gas shelf, specifically, in processing oil products right on the Sakhalin Island.

IF [INTERFAX] has learned that the conference will also consider setting up a corporation which would be engaged in developing an oil and gas shelf in the Arctic regions of Russia.

Internal Officer Protests Salary Inadequacies

LD1102213192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1940 GMT 11 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Moscow—RF [Russian Federation] administration's ruling on money remuneration of the Interior Ministry and Federal Security Agency personnel did not include Internal troops. According to data received by PF [POSTFACTUM] at Russia's Interior Ministry, a minute sent by the commander of the Internal troops Colonel-General Vasily Savvin to the Minister of the Interior of RF points out that the facts of social injustice arouse the indignation and resentment on the part of the officers and the non-commissioned officers (especially prison wardens) about the remuneration of their work. A comparative table of salaries is attached to the minute. The table shows that the chief of a forest-based correction labor colony is drawing a salary of 3.215 rubles while an Internal troops' regiment commander guarding several such colonies draws only 1.330 rubles.

Report That Tokobank Has CPSU Funds Denied

OW1202191892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1724 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A member of the Russian Commercial Bank's administration Boris Sergeyev told IF [INTERFAX] that Tokobank has not a single kopeck belonging to the CPSU. He denied information in the article "The Party's money: billions discovered, but investigation has come to a halt" published in the newspaper "IZVESTIYA" January 10. The report said the CPSU had some 150 million rubles in accounts of Tokobank.

Sergeyev said that in accordance with the Auguat 20, 1991, telegram of the Russian Central Bank, Tokobank transferred all money of the party to special frozen accounts in the USSR State Bank on September 3rd, 1991. The Russian Prosecutor's Office was notified about that already in October.

Commentary Views 'Demographic Crisis'

LD1202112592 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Commentary by Boris Belitskiy]

[Text] Russia's demographic or population problems have indeed acquired a magnitude that has prompted some demographers and sociologists to speak of a demographic crisis. One feature of this crisis is an unprecedented scale of emergency-related migration: the resettlement of large population groups.

Most of these groups are refugees from areas torn by interethnic conflicts but the nightmare of demographers is the possibility of an explosive increase of migration rates due to economic factors. Among such factors they are considering the possible emergence of economically distressed areas as a result of economic restructuring. Wholesale unemployment in such areas would inevitably cause part of the population to leave them.

Another cause of large-scale migration could be ecological disasters such as the Chernobyl nuclear power plant tragedy, which is still causing people to leave affected areas some five years after the accident.

The total number of refugees in Russia due to these and other factors is now estimated at 160,000. Naturally their influx into some areas has placed severe strains on the already groaning social and economic infrastructure there, aggravating food and housing problems, adding to uenmployment, and, as a result, further depressing local living standards.

Experts estimate for example that the resettlement of a single refugee costs from 25,000 to 60,000 rubles. Worse

still, many analysts believe that the refugee phenomenon is pregnant with the danger of increased social and political instability, that it threatens the democratic reform processes and could fuel a right-wing takeover. Indeed, several extremist leaders are already working to enlist the support of refugee groups.

Immigration too is on the increase. In 1990 nearly half a million people left the country for good and another 5 million temporarily—double the figures for the previous year.

Interethnic conflicts, the resulting large-scale migration, and the soaring crime rate have all tended to push up the mortality rate. In 1990, crime-related violence caused some 25,000 deaths, nearly double the total number of Soviet casualties in the war in Afghanistan. As for interethnic conflicts, they caused 782 civilian deaths, wounding another 3,600 people. Just the law-enforcement agencies lost 77 people dead and 548 wounded. In general, nearly one-third of Russia's 20-year-old men will not live to be 60 if present mortality rate trends persist.

These are only a few of the demographic problems arising in Russia and to an even greater extent in the new Commonwealth of Independent States. There is as yet no clear picture of the political implications of some of the new demographic trends in the country. Fortunately, demographers, sociologists, and other social scientists are now beginning to take an increasing interest in these problems and I hope to able to report some of their findings in the near future.

Workers of Nuclear Research Town Interviewed

LD1202143592

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1310 GMT on 8 February carries a 22-minute program called "Can You Be Bought?" on the closed nuclear research town of Arzamas-16 presented by correspondent Nina Zvereva.

Zvereva talks to staff in the control room of a rapid-impulse graphite reactor, BIGR; and visits a laser installation called "Iskra" being used in laser thermo-nuclear fusion research, where a scientist shows her a chart scribbled on a blackboard illustrating the laser power generation capacities of the United States, Japan, France, and Russia as being respectively 100, 30, 20, and 120 terawatt.

She talks to Vladimir Bogdanov, a control room engineer, who complains that not much research is done now and that the whole business is slowly dying away, probably because of inadequate financing. She talks to Igor Grigoryevich Smirnov, a section head, who says that people now have to contend with troubles they have not been used to before. Aleksandr Ivanovich Pavlovskiy, academician, Sakharov's colleague, and hero of socialist labor says: "I think that in this situation the most terrible thing is not even that the prices are the way they are and that there is no food—the most terrible thing that worries people is the uncertainty of the future. Naturally people, especially young and middle aged people, will endeavor to protect themselves against chance."

Zvereva adds: "Currently the wages of Vladimir Bogdanov, senior reactor control engineer, amount to 600 rubles [R]; Smirnov earns R900. Research using the BIGR reactor has been curtailed to a minimum—not only are there no wages, but there is no work either."

She then talks with Valeriy Tikhonovich Ponets, a worker at the Iskra laser installation. Zvereva says: "Tell me please, what is your attitude to this problem everyone is currently talking about: that our cleverest people may now go abroad and reveal our secrets there, including, probably, your secrets too? What is your view, is this problem far-fetched, or is it possible?

Ponets replies: "Probably there are some grounds to say this, but my personal view on this question is that this problem was first raised not by those who do the work, but by those who oversee the work. That is to say, personally, I did not even think about it and subsequently I was told that one can think in this way. I think that people like me may even be in a majority. That is why it seems to me that the cleverest people will not flee, as it seems at first sight. The question of emigrating is a great deal more complex than it appears to many." He adds he is speaking only for himself, "but many may disagree". He goes on: "I do, however, think that the problem is not even in the fact of people's departure—I would even encourage the young people to get away, perhaps."

Answering Zvereva's question about the future of scientific establishments, Ponets says he is worried that people might not be employed to the best of their capacity in their chosen areas, if their work, as is ever more frequently the case, is subordinated to commercial considerations. Replying to a question about Yeltsin's decree raising physicists' pay fivefold, Ponets says he will believe it when he sees it, he has heard many assurances before.

Zvereva then interviews Yuriy Alekseyevich Trutnev, first deputy scientific head of the experimental physics insitute, twice hero, winner of all sorts of prizes, and academician. Zvereva asks: "Do you, in principle, possess the kind of know how which could have a very high price put on it in the West?" Trutnev says: "I think I do. I think I do. Well, for example, I can... [changes thought] it is not simply that I do, but the collective does."

Zvereva says: "The collective does. In real terms, how many people do, indeed, possess genuine secrets, for which someone could pay a high price?"

Trutnev answers: "Well, all in all, today's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has an interview with a deputy minister, who mentions between 2,000 and 2,500 of those who really possess sensitive technological information and between 10,000 to 15,000 people who know

secrets. In all probability, I would increase this figure several-fold." He goes on to say that the facilities here are 50 years old and many generations have worked here.

Zvereva then asks: "The presence of such specialists abroad, trained here, would speed up the process of arms manufacture, for instance, is that not so?"

Trutnev responds: "I have not said this so far, but, naturally, it would speed it up, naturally it would speed it up. At the end of the day, what has been created here is not just a town, nor is it just an institute. It is what I would call a technopolis." Trutnev praises the unique scientific, design and production potential concentrated here and fondly recalls the past. He does not know if there exist adequate resources to finance scientific work, but is impressed by Yeltsin and his quick grasp of the problems this scientific community is currently having to face.

Zvereva concludes the program by saying that the scientific community now needs moral support just as much, if not more, than money. "On our way home, we put the radio on. Ivanovo bus drivers are on strike. They demand that their wages be increased to R6,000, instead of the current R2,500".

Air Traffic Controllers Union Threatens Strike

LD1202150492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] The Trade Union Federation of Air Traffic Controllers of Russia will call a strike unless its demands are met by 21 February. This was reported to RIA by Federation President Sergey Avsyukov. The demands include the creation of a commission for air traffic control attached to the head of the Russian Government. The Federation also demands that previous decisions by the government on establishing a 36-hour work week, 45 work days of holiday time, and the conclusion of a pay agreement be carried out.

Zhirinovskiy's Plan for Commonwealth Viewed

AU1302103892 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Feb 92 pp 8, 9

[Interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the "Liberal Democratic Party of the Soviet Union", by Blazej Panik in Moscow; date not given: "An Extravagant Clown or a Phenomenon Worse Than a Bad Dream"]

[Text] We became acquainted some time ago—in December 1990. He is not very tall, has an oval face and relatively keen eyes, and, at the time, he attracted my attention by an unusually loud conversation, almost an argument, with a Chechen female deputy, who just a short while earlier shocked the session of the USSR People's Deputies Congress by a strongly formulated demand for President Gorbachev's resignation. At times, his speech was reminiscent of machine-gun fire. The sharp and unscrupulous attacks, at least when one considers that he spoke with a lady, gave me a strong indication of the political culture endorsed by the leader of the party, which calls itself liberal democratic and which at the time had only a few hundred members.

Last year's Russian presidential elections came next. He—45- year-old Vladimir Volfovich ZHIRINOVSKIY, a Moscow lawyer completely unknown in political circles, a native of Alma-Ata, a graduate of the Institute for Asian and African Countries, and of a law school, who speaks four foreign languages (English, French, German, and Turkish)—appeared rather unexpectedly among the six candidates. Very few people believed that he could get more than 1 percent of the vote. Many others did not see him as anything but a common clown with extravagant opinions. In Moscow in June, I watched a television debate among all the candidates (except for Yeltsin) and several of his election campaign speeches. I had the impression that he is not at all bothered by the fact that the "upper circles" ascribe him precisely such a role. He felt that his support would be elsewhere, and this was "the spot" he targeted. In the event of his victory, he promised to sell vodka "at every corner, around the clock and without any interruptions," he promised to deal with the mafia, and to firmly defend the honor and dignity of all Russians "wherever they may live," which was particularly effective with the military circles in the Baltic regions, and he also promised many other things.

The election results shocked many people: Zhirinovskiy obtained almost 8 percent of the votes (third place). In other words, his cheap and demagogic slogans found a response in more than 6 million voters. Thus, overnight an unknown clown became a serious political adversary—to one and all. It is even more significant if one considers that while Yeltsin's popularity is continually declining, the number of Zhirinovskiy's admirers is growing. Realistic estimates speak about 20 million, while the actual membership of the Liberal Democratic Party is only 70,000. (However, I repeat, less than a year ago, the party had only a few hundred members). In Moscow and abroad, Zhirinovskiy's political career has been more and more often compared with that of Adolf Hitler. The latter also reminded many people of a clown....

We met again in Moscow several days ago. The first thing that caught my eye in his office was a large color photograph of former Defense Minister Marshal Yazov, who is in jail because of the August coup attempt, reading the newspaper, LIBERAL....

[Panik] Since our first meeting, I have kept your card that says you are chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of the Soviet Union. Will you have new cards printed?

[Zhirinovskiy] Not yet. We will change the party name only after the Russian borders coincide with those of the Soviet Union.

[Panik] From which period?

[Zhirinovskiy] The borders specified by the USSR Constitution of 1977.

[Panik] Is it your goal?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, it is the very minimum....

[Panik] How do you plan to achieve it?

[Zhirinovskiy] By means of law and economy. We will not fight anybody. We definitely refuse to accept the disintegration of our country, its territorial segmentation. It is o.k., if the Soviet Union is no longer needed, if it ceased to exist as a state form. Russia can become its successor with all the implications, good or bad. Nevertheless, the borders must be the same as those of the USSR. We are not going to discuss this point with anybody.

[Panik] So, you believe that, for instance, the three Baltic states....

[Zhirinovskiy] What states? After all, it is all our Russian economy. It will be the economy that will force them to return to us. Just like that!

[Panik] What if they do not?

[Zhirinovskiy] Do not be naive.... The Baltic region simply cannot cope with such a neighbor. If we spoke about an island like, say, Cuba, it would be a different issue altogether. The Baltic region, however,—so to say—is part of our body.... We have been there 300 years. Three hundred. Now, suddenly, we are occupants. If we had not been there, it would be the Swedes, or Germans, or Poles. It is only thanks to us that these small republics—Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia—came into being.

[Panik] What about the other former republics of the USSR—let us say, the Asian ones? Should Russia reach as far as that?

[Zhirinovskiy] One must distinguish between two separate issues here. As far as Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, and Tajikistan are concerned, i.e. the former Turkistan, they could form a distinct component with ties to Russia based on the principle of a confederation. Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, on the other hand,—that is a Russian territory. Historically, these states have never existed. We could also build our relations with Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia on the principle of a confederation. Nonetheless, the border of Russia must go through the northern Caucasus. There will not be any Chechen or similar republics—not Volzhskaya, Bakshirskaya, Yakutskaya, and so on. Here precisely is the cause of all our misery. If we continue in the current direction of the democrats, Russia will soon cease to exist.

[Panik] What would you do if you were in President Yeltsin's shoes?

[Zhirinovskiy] I would eliminate all the republics.

[Panik] What do you mean—eliminate?

[Zhirinovskiy] I would simply abolish them through my edicts and establish provinces [gubernie] in their stead. The new administrative division of the Russian Federation would consist of 77 provinces. Just like that! No regions, oblasts, republics, or autonomies.

[Panik] What if people did not accept it?

[Zhirinovskiy] I am the president! I obtained the mandate to manage the country.... After all, it is impossible for everybody to agree. If I win the elections, it means that I have the support of a majority. This majority knows beforehand for whom it votes. I have not at all concealed my intention to eliminate all republics and autonomies. If I were deceiving people, it would be a different story.

[Panik] Fine, it would apply to the Russian territory if you won the elections there, but only there. How would it be—let us say—in Kazakhstan....

[Zhirinovskiy] I repeat, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan have never existed as states. It is a Russian territory, and for this reason I would immediately annex them to the Russian Federation. I would send five or six governors there, just like that!

[Panik] You would probably have to send some troops together with the governors.

[Zhirinovskiy] Why?

[Panik] In case the local people had objections....

[Zhirinovskiy] Russians form 60 percent of the population there. They certainly want to be annexed, and they will support me.

[Panik] You probably could not say that about the Baltic states....

[Zhirinovskiy] We are talking about a different approach here. Our economic relations will have a different basis. My first action will be to stop all shipments of raw materials to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. At the same time, I will trade with Finland and Turkey. As a result, the Baltic region will be isolated. If it is a separation, then let it be a real one. Nonetheless, our troops will stay. We are not going to discuss this point with anybody!

[Panik] That is a very dangerous approach, which does not belong in the civilized world—an approach from the position of power....

[Zhirinovskiy] No, it is a purely economic approach. Why should we not have the right to trade with whomever we want? Why should we have to supply them with our oil, lumber, and other raw materials?

[Panik] I did not say that you would have to....

[Zhirinovskiy] ...we will give it to Turkey. They will give us clothes, food, footwear, and furniture. We will get everything from either Turkey or Finland. We will not give a single pin to the Baltic region. We will see how

long they will last with their independence. Three months and that is it! They will collapse then. Without a single shot. Without any intervention in internal affairs.

[Panik] You will understand that for us in Czechoslovakia this does not sound too good. We, too, are very dependent on the supplies of raw material from Russia.

[Zhirinovskiy] You are our brothers, Slavs. We will come to terms. We want to be friends with you—with both Czechs and Slovaks. To me, there is no difference in this respect. In other words, I support the idea of business as usual.

[Panik] A while ago, I spoke with the chairman of your party [as published], Mr. Khalitov.

[Zhirinovskiy] What did he say?

[Panik] According to him, we in Czechoslovakia, have started it all by our support for the independence of the Baltic region.... He also said that I am to tell all the ambassadors from that region to quietly make themselves scarce....

[Zhirinovskiy] Well, there was some interference from your side. Havel, for instance, supported all our separatists. Therefore, I do not consider the position assumed by Czechoslovakia to be the best. One should be neutral in such matters.

[Panik] The right to self-determination is an issue that is now being discussed throughout Europe. What is your opinion on this issue?

[Zhirinovskiy] In principle, I support freedom, absolute freedom. If, let us say, the Czechs and Slovaks want to separate, go ahead.... I myself, however, do not see any great advantage for small states. What will be the result? Everybody will form his own army, currency, customs, control.... All that is very expensive. I understand that some small nations do not like the status quo. I wish, however, that the division of states would have no negative impact on people who live there. So that there would not be any refugees, civil wars, and victims.

[Panik] There is a certain contradiction in what you say. On the one hand, you say that you understand the attempts of the small nations at self-realization within their own states and, on the other hand,—if you had the power—you would want to economically "smother" the Baltics independence....

[Zhirinovskiy] The current emancipation processes in Europe do not take place in a vacuum. What is it that we are witnessing today? On the one hand, there is the united Germany whose strength and power are steadily growing, and on the other—the Slavic nations keep splitting into small states. Moreover, they argue among themselves. Hence, from the geopolitical point of view, we are losing, while Germany and America are gaining. This must be taken into consideration.

[Panik] How?

[Zhirinovskiy] Perhaps, the right thing to do would be to consider forming a certain confederation of Slavic nations—Russia, Belarus, the Ukraine, Bohemia, Slovakia, Poland, the six Yugoslav republics, Bulgaria.... We would be joined by a common economic turf, a single currency—they are transferring to ECU [European Currency Units] in Western Europe, we could have the ruble. The Russian energy resources could become the source of the proper operation of East European economy, and Eastern Europe would help us through shipments of light-industry products, consumer goods, and food. It would probably be worthwhile to find some such form of our coexistence, rather than create these national principalities.

[Panik] Could you be more specific?

[Zhirinovskiy] It would be a great Slavic confederation. Every state could have its own passports. The language used would be the local one. However, why should each small republic have its own army? A treaty on security and a single army might be much more sensible here—a kind of joint East European security force. Several alternatives are feasible.

[Panik] Hence, to again divide Europe into East and West?

[Zhirinovskiy] No, but we Slavs should join together to outbalance the weight of Germany. Germany would thus face the almost 300-million-strong Slavic nation—united in its relations with Western Europe. In this respect, we could find common grounds. Moreover, there have been treaties like that—CEMA, the Warsaw Pact.... Why throw it all overboard? It must be altered, modified—that is all. The Warsaw Pact—yes it was a red treaty, a communist one. Let us preserve it, but without communists, without the red color. Let us be united by Slavic patriotism. I repeat, it is not necessary to destroy everything and start again from scratch—it is dangerous. We will lose a lot—both materially and morally. In this sense, we have to seek a solution that would bring an overall positive result. It is the same as with the Germans. We, Slavs, harm ourselves. Let us take the Ukrainians, for instance. Why do they play with separatism? They are forming their own army and creating their own currency. I do not understand at all to what end it can lead.... No borders are stable, a threat of confrontation, hostility, looms everywhere. In this sense, we are the losers, and the Americans, Germans, Japanese, French, and British are the winners.

[Panik] How do you feel about the events in Georgia?

[Zhirinovskiy] I expected such a development. I claimed that Gamsakhurdia would stay in power only a few months. Despite my personal dislike for him because of his attitude towards the Ossetians, I consider his deposal to be unconstitutional.

[Panik] You mentioned the Ossetians. So, you opposed President Gamsakhurdia's policy on Ossetia.

[Zhirinovskiy] Of course, and very strongly so.

[Panik] Did he not deal with them and their demands like you intend to do with the Latvians, for instance? He ordered a blockade of water supplies and heating to Tskhinvali....

[Zhirinovskiy] No, you are wrong. You probably do not know that the Ossetian and Abkhaz tsardoms used to belong to Russia. It is a Russian territory and not Georgian. The Ossetians do not want to remain in a union with Georgia, they want to be with Russia.

[Panik] How would you assess your chances on the Russian political scene?

[Zhirinovskiy] If the presidential elections were tomorrow, I would get 70 million votes—of the total of 105 million, about 20 million would not vote and 10 million would vote for Yeltsin or people like him.

[Panik] Are you convinced of that?

[Zhirinovskiy] Certainly. In any event, I will be frank with you, the current developments in society play into our hands. On the other hand, if the situation improved, our position would become more difficult.

[Panik] Does it mean that you consider the people who are most dissatisfied with the current developments to be the basis of your potential electoral support?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, and their number keeps growing. In addition, I expect that we, rather than the democrats, will get the votes of the former communists. There are many of them in Russia—including their families; there are almost 30 million voters. They would vote for us. I estimate that at this time there are about 50 million people against Yeltsin. It would suffice, if just one half of them would vote for me.

[Panik] With which political force would you be willing to cooperate? What is your party line?

[Zhirinovskiy] There is no one with whom to cooperate. The communists are unsuitable because of their ideological principles, and we do not consider the current democrats to be our allies. We are a very specific third power.

[Panik] If we consider public opinion surveys to be a popularity gauge, however, Boris Yeltsin took first place in a recent one, while you were the last, eighteenth. You do not believe in popularity polls?

[Zhirinovskiy] Who were the other people on the list?

[Panik] Sobchak, Shevardnadze.... Gorbachev was in the penultimate spot....

[Zhirinovskiy] So, you see (laughter).... Nobody supports Gorbachev now, or needs Shevardnadze, and Yeltsin is supported by only a small portion of the population—approximately 10 million to 15 million people. Nevertheless, let us say that 120 million people support him. Now, tell me, whom do the remaining 90 million people support? Whom?

[Panik] I am afraid that many of them do not have a favorite.

[Zhirinovskiy] I do not deny that there is a certain apathy and pessimism in the air.

[Panik] A few days ago, the magazine OGONEK published an article in which it writes that in the archives of the CPSU Central Committee building documents were found bearing witness to the fact that prior to the August coup attempt your party was in fact something like a subsidiary of the CPSU. In any event, it was you who, as the only party, immediately expressed support for the so-called state of emergency committee....

[Zhirinovskiy] That is wrong. We only supported the program of the committee. The program was right: To reintroduce the constitutional order, calm down the people, start the struggle against crime, and to bring the economy back to normal.... Regarding the article, then, it is plain nonsense, dirty fluff. First, they attacked me, saying that I am a KGB agent, next, that I collaborate with communists and intend to eliminate all people in the Baltic region, that I have a dictatorial leaning, even that I am a fascist. None of it is true. They just want to turn the voters against me and our party.

[Panik] You have said yourself that you favor a strong-arm regime and that you will ban political parties and the publication of newspapers immediately after you assume power....

[Zhirinovskiy] Over the next two years, we cannot do without a strict regime. It is not necessary to stop the publication of newspapers, but if someone commits slander, he must be stopped. I will make a quick end to the anarchy and chaos we are witnessing today.

'Otchizna' Patriotic Movement Holds Session

PM1202113392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by Yevgeniy Sakhonko: "We Shall Stand Up for Fatherland"]

[Text] A routine session of the organizational committee of the all-Russian "Otchizna" [Fatherland] patriotic movement has been held in Moscow. It was attended by representatives of patriotic movements, societies, and parties which defend the interests of the working people and by RSFSR deputies from the "Otchizna" deputies' faction.

The organizational committee decided to convene the movement's constituent congress 22 February 1992.

In putting forward a program for Russia's resurrection "Otchizna" defends the ideas of patriotism and the

protection of the civil, cultural, and social rights and freedoms of all peoples of Russia and the Russian-speaking population outside Russia. "Otchizna" urges all those who hold dear peace, popular unity, and the spiritual values of the Russian land to create local sections of the movement and to nominate delegates to the congress in Moscow.

The contact telephone number in Moscow is 205-45-19. Money can be paid into the society's account number 346478 in the Moscow bank for financing capital investments routing number 998208 subscriber 06.

Denounces Armed Forces Division

LD1202184392 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—The Russian patriotic movement Otchizna (fatherland) denounces attempts to divide the army and calls for a scientifically substantiated concept of national security, Boris Tarasov, chairman of the movement organising committee, told ITAR-TASS.

The movement was created last year at the initiative of Russian deputies from the parliamentary faction Otchizna and public organisations and parties to promote a spiritual and moral revival of people living in Russia and protect the prestige of the Commonwealth Armed Forces.

The movement will hold a founding congress on February 22 to discuss and adopt documents on military issues, including the concept of national security.

Patriotic Forces Insist on Reforming Union

LD1102170892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0547 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, February 11 (TANJUG)—Russia's patriotic forces, which have constituted themselves as the opposition to the present leadership of the largest one-time Soviet Republic, are going to insist on establishing the Soviet Union again and forming a Government of "National Salvation."

A decision to that effect should be taken by the Congress of People's Deputies, the supreme power in the country, instead of several Republic presidents who decided that the Soviet state be dissolved, the leaders of the movement of the said forces stated. Already collected have been signatures of 450 People's Deputies of the former Soviet Union, enough for convening a congress supposed to make the mentioned decisions.

This was said in a talk with TANJUG's Moscow-based correspondent by Prof. Dr. Eduard Volodin, deputy president of the Patriotic Forces Movement. Some 300,000 people, this movement's members, turned out in Moscow streets last Sunday [9 February] and another 200,000 massed in the square close to the Kremlin walls and adopted a resolution to that effect.

This was one of the two parallel ralies last Sunday, of which the 2nd one was in support of Yeltsin, but ten times fewer people assembled at it.

The declaration adopted had it that a congress of deputies should meet together on March 17, on the very anniversary of a referendum at which three-quarters of its participants came out in favour of safeguarding the Soviet Union, but the Republic's powerfuls neglected that, Eduard Volodin said.

The Sunday rally came up to expectations not only by taking place in dignity and with not a single incident, but also by passing unanimously against, Prof. Volodin said, the Russian Government's and President Yeltsin's anti-people's policy.

We have been and remained in opposition to the Russian Government in power, Prof. Volodin emphasized, but within the law and the constitution.

The Patriotic Forces Movement considers as its duty to offer "objective support" to the Serbian and Montengrin peoples in their efforts to safeguard the state of Yugoslavia without using the U.N. peace-keeping force, he told TANJUG.

Civil, Patriotic Forces' Congress Viewed

PM1102170192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 1

[Untitled report by Captain Third Rank A. Pelts under the "Direct Line" rubric]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Feb—The people who participated in the congress of civic and patriotic forces were too different. But they managed to reach agreement and set up a new sociopolitical movement.

It is called the "Russian People's Assembly." It may now be boldly stated that the present Russian president also has a formal and quite impressive political opposition.

But its "birth" was not that easy. The people gathered in the "Rossiya" Movie Theater, where the congress was being held 8-9 February, were too different: different in terms of political convictions, views on work methods and forms, and ways of overcoming the present crisis. Precisely these circumstances repeatedly created conflict situations in the work of the congress, which brought it to the brink of failure. However, the vigorous actions of the organizing committee made it possible to surmount the difficulties, including the impetuous action organized by the not unknown "Pamyat."

A unique tone was imparted to the work of the congress by the speech of Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. Describing the present situation as extremely grave and alarming, he criticized the government's actions and suggested measures to overcome the crisis

phenomena. The vice president regards the introduction of a state of economic emergency as the most urgent of these measures. On this basis further actions are proposed to revive Russia's statehood and to overcome the breakdown and the spiritual, economic, and political crisis. The policy of foreign investments is without a future and leads to a loss of independence and state sovereignty. "You only get free cheese in a mousetrap," A. Rutskoy emphasized.

During the two-day debate representatives of numerous parties, patriotic movements, and organizations in Russia and the former republics of the USSR called for the process of the country's breakdown to be halted and for territorial concessions in return for the West's economic aid and political favor not to be allowed.

The "military question" was also in the congress' field of vision. Advocating the unconditional preservation of the Armed Forces' unity, its participants condemned the attempts by the present Commonwealth states to "privatize" entire military formations and to force the officer corps to swear an oath to new state formations. A greetings telegram to Admiral Igor Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, was adopted by a unanimous vote.

The pointed debate on other problems of Russia's revival resulted in the creation of a new mass sociopolitical movement. The first organizational documents were adopted, and the central council of the Russian People's Assembly was elected, consisting of several dozen people. They include Russian Deputies Viktor Aksyuchits, Mikhail Astafyev, and Nikolay Pavlov.

Gaydar Cited on Transition to Market Economy

OW1302143492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1244 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Transition from a command economy to a market is always difficult and will take at least several years, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar told IF [INTERFAX] on Thursday [13 February]. As soon as some problems are solved "[words indistinct] immediately pop up." "Once we solved to some extent the problems of shortages," he said, "we found ourselves facing a new urgent problem, high prices, and once we solve it the nascent problem of employment would come to the fore."

At the same time, the deputy prime minster said that all this was not at variance with a premise to improve things by the fall of 1992, made by the Russian president last fall to the Congress of People's Deputies. "He said we would solve some part of the problems by next fall," Yegor Gaydar noted, "the president has never promised anybody to build a bright new world with no problems to worry about by next fall."

According to Gaydar, the shortages of goods can "undoubtedly" be relieved by the fall of 1992, and it was the shortages that constituted the most urgent problems one and a half years ago.

Farmers' Association Signs Reform Agreement

LD1202185592 Moscow TASS in English 1236 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—A cooperation agreement has been concluded by the Russian Government and the Individual Farmers' Association (AKKOR), which provides for political cooperation and support for the reforms, implemented by the president and the government, in the interests of public accord. It was signed today by Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, Minister of Agriculture Viktor Khlystun and AKKOR President Vladimir Bashmachnikov.

The agreement outlines the key spheres of joint work, aimed at creating favourable conditions for the development of the individual farming movement. Priority attention will be given to financial support, economic stimulation of production, cooperation in the processing sector and the social protection of farmers.

The agreement is a document without precedent, because it is the first time the relations between the government and farmers have been given a legal status, which envisages mutual commitments.

Agreement Detailed

OW1302122692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1048 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The government of the Russian Federation and the Association of Farmers and Farming Cooperatives have signed a cooperation agreement. The government pledged to contribute 6.5 billion rubles to the Russian Farmer with indexation every quarter of the year, 1.5 billion of the sum during the first quarter of 1992. [sentence as received] The government also promised low interest (8%) credits to farmers. Farmers will be given quotas and licences for international trade, barter and other deals.

The association pledged to support the reforms of the president and government and sell at least 25% of produce under government contracts at market prices. The sides agreed to prevent the formation of small non-marketing farms.

Vice-Premier Gaydar who signed the agreement on behalf of the government said: "This is the year when it is going to become clear whether individual farming is going to progress or dwindle". He told journalists that the Interior Ministry has been instructed to consider the

possibility of giving farmers the right to posses smoothbore firearms for protecting their lives and property.

Collective Farmers Hold All-Russia Congress

No Longer Trust Government

OW1202144192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The All-Russia Congress of Collective Farmers that opened in Moscow on Wednesday [12 February] has censured the government's economic policy. Speakers expressed doubt that their farms could survive under the harsh economic conditions, and stated that the rural areas had lost all hope that the government would ever turn to face the farmers' needs. Apart from protesting against the 2.000-3.000 percent rise in the prices of equipment and other resources for the rural areas, the congress called against "hasty restructuring" of agriculture.

Gennadiy Burbulis, Russia's First Vice-Premier, told the delegates that the government did not intend to launch any large-scale offensive on the collective farms and that it was ready to support various agriculture-developing forms and methods and protect the producers against any form of dictatorial pressure.

He suggested holding a round-table conference to look into the existing disputes and conclude a special economic agreement whereby either side would clearly define its obligations. The vice-premier promised that the government would consider slashing taxes on the producers—but that it would depend on the current trends of economic development.

Demand Lower Taxes on Equipment

OW1202214992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1846 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On February 13 the Russian government is scheduled to discuss demands and remarks made by Russian collective farmers at their 2nd Congress which opened in Moscow Wednesday [12 February]. The deputies, were assured of that by Russian Agriculture Minister Viktor Khlystun. The delegates insisted mainly on lower taxes and costs of agricultural equipment and higher purchase prices for agricultural products.

Khlystun denied allegations by some speakers that the Cabinet intends to carry out a forced decollectivization in rural areas. He said that each collective farm would be able to choose a form of property for itself.

Participants in the congress, most of them chairmen of collective farms, have also urged "the resignation of the present Cabinet and the nomination of a new government of workers and peasants". Some of the delegates have even insulted the government.

The Congress has also issued an address to the Russian president and the Prosecutor General with request to release Chairman of the USSR Agrarian Union Vasiliy Starodubtsev, one of the members of the State of Emergency Committee who plotted the August coup attempt in the former Soviet Union.

First-Quarter Food Supply Situation 'Acute'

PM1102142992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 6

[IZVESTIYA-INTERFAX report: "The Food Market"]

[Text] **Forecast of Russian Ministry of Economics and Finance**

	First Quarter of 1991	First Quarter of 1992	1992 as % of 1991
	(thousands of tonnes)		
meat from state raw materials	1,222	1,196	97.9
butter from state raw materials	116	107	92.2
granulated sugar	513	323	63.0
including:			
from sugar beet	243.2	23	9.4
from raw sugar	268.8	300	111.2
confectionery products	733.5	500	68.2
vegetable oil	310	310	100
margarine	198.3	155	78.2
table salt	234.6	107	45.6
packed tea	18.9	19	100.2
tobacco products (billion items)	38.7	38.7	100.0
flour from state raw materials	4,949.5	5,100.0	103.0
macaroni products	285.1	304.2	106.7
fish products	1,206	1,091	90.5

During the first three months of 1992 the food situation in the republic will remain acute and the output of basic kinds of foodstuffs will fall.

The main reason for the decline in output of meat and dairy products is the reduction in the livestock population and the fall in its productivity due to a shortage of forage (feed supply is now 14.6 percent down on last

year's level). The decline in output in other sectors of the processing industry is also basically due to a shortage of raw materials.

To cover the acute scarcity of raw materials for sugar production the Russian Federation government intends to import 1 million tonnes of raw sugar in the first quarter of 1992. Sugar refineries will be able to produce 300,000 tonnes of sugar through these supplies, provided the raw materials are received no later than 15 February.

The raw materials situation for the confectionery industry is even more difficult. In 1991 sector enterprises received only one-quarter of the cocoa beans required, while no contracts at all have been concluded to date this current year.

The fish industry has had to contend with a sharp deterioration in the technical condition of the fleet and limited currency resources for the acquisition and repair of ships and the payment of fishing rights in the zones of foreign states. Owing to the collapse of the USSR Russia will receive 80,000 fewer tonnes of fish products from other republics in the first quarter of 1992.

Each inhabitant will have 4 kg of fish products in the first quarter, which is 0.5 kilos down on last year.

The greatest difficulties are expected in supplying the population with meat, butter, and vegetable oil, infant food, and sugar.

However, experts maintain that the Russian economy will be able to meet the population's minimum requirements in the most important food products without utilizing major foreign credits.

Roundup on 'Shrinking' Food Stocks

LD1102132892 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS columnist Alexey Filatov]

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—Food stocks in Russia are shrinking day by day, Viktor Tikhonov, deputy chairman of the committee on trade of the Russian Trade Ministry, told ITAR-TASS. At the warehouses, there is only a 19-day supply of meat and poultry, a month supply of butter, a 41-day supply of sugar, and 20-day supply of vegetable oil at the moment.

According to the ministry's experts, the situation will not improve in the near future. Food production continues to decrease. Cattle is being slaughtered in huge numbers because of lack of fodder. It would pay off in a year or two since it is not an easy thing to increase the livestock for a short period of time.

The prospects of horticulture and agriculture in Russia are not impressive, either—with the lack of mineral fertilizers and insecticides. It jeopardizes the spring sowing. For the Russian farmers, the present situation is a catch 22: The prices for new machinery are unreasonably high, and it is almost impossible to get spare parts to repair the ones they have. According to statistics, almost 200,000 unrepaired tractors might stay idle this spring.

The only solution, the ministry of trade thinks, is to keep buying food from the West, in spite of scarce hard currency in Russia. Russia needs at least 2.5 million tonnes of meat, 0.1 million tonnes of milk concentrate, 0.5 million tonnes of butter, and 4.1 million tonnes of raw sugar.

Observers think it is high time to use the credits from the West for investments into construction of new technological lines and plants to process Russia's own meat, milk, fruits and vegetables. Many Russian food processing plants are about to be closed down because their equipment is 50 per cent depreciated.

New Ruble-Dollar Exchange Rate Criticized

PM1302095192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Ivan Zhagel report: "Again Currency for Chosen Ones"]

[Text] At the suggestion of the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the Russian Government has prepared and distributed to banks an instructional letter from which it follows that a special coefficient for converting foreign currency to Soviet rubles is now being established for a number of foreign economic operations. This in fact means that one more exchange rate for the ruble against the dollar is being introduced administratively, namely 5.4.

How can we fail to recall here the good old times when there was a multitude of currency exchange rates which divided the economy up into several sectors and turned our monetary unit into something artificial? Analogies with the past also arise because the 5.4 rate has been arrived at by simply multiplying by three the former commercial rate, which was equal to 1.8 and was used by state enterprises to pay for imported raw materials, equipment, and subassemblies supplied to them in a centralized way.

The aforementioned government document says that the 5.4 rate will apply to...centralized import operations. A seemingly noble aim is set here: to prevent a sharp increase in the cost of goods purchased abroad, particularly those of social significance. But, as is known, the road to hell is paved with good intentions. For previously, too, at first only the most essential things were supplied in a centralized way, at a preferential exchange rate, but then this list also began to include yarn for tights, footwear, and machine tools.

Also it is impossible to draw a line between medical supplies, foodstuffs, and clothes and the raw materials, semimanufactures, subassemblies, and equipment needed to produce them. Incidentally, the Russian Government's document does not even attempt to stipulate this. Maybe the people there understand the whole

complexity of such a task, although it cannot be ruled out that this has been done intentionally—a kind of loophole has been left to extend the sphere of application of the new exchange rate.

In general, the very fact of its emergence creates a certain precedent. The mechanism for redistributing currency from the strong to the weak is being partly reinstated, albeit not entirely. For, if currency is provided to some at a cut rate, it simply has to be taken away from others. And yet precisely this was the chief cause of the decline in our economy.

Another aspect, important in the moral sense, must be touched upon. The government document states that the new exchange rate will apply also to nontrade operations conducted by the Republic Currency Fund. These include expenditure on foreign trips by representatives of the administration. Thus, if you convert this expenditure into rubles at the market rate of 110 rubles to the dollar, you will end up with a huge sum. But if you use the new exchange rate, you might get the impression that the government prefers an ascetic way of life...

Economist Urges Treaty on Economic Union

LD1202193892 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Prominent economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy believes that the most important thing at the present stage of market reforms in Russia is to avoid hyperinflation. He says liberalization of prices is a necessary step but it should be backed by privatization, demonopolization, and the corresponding credit and financial policy. Only in this way excessive money can be tied up and the growing cost of living checked. In the opinion of Yavlinskiy, the government unfortunately does not have a complete conception of reforms and that could lead to serious aftermaths. The economist believes that special attention in implementing reforms should be given to the joint actions of Russia and the other republics. They should sign a treaty on an economic union.

Paper To Publish Privatization Documents

PM1202163392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Feb 92 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Unattributed announcement: "Only From Us!"]

[Text] **Complete Package of Documents on Privatization**

On Thursday 13 February ALL documents on the privatization of state and municipal ownership in Russia are being published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's retail print run.

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Economic Choices Facing Federation Assessed

PM1102170192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Aleksandr Nekipelov[1], deputy director of Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of International Economic and Political Research: "About Quarreling Siamese Twins and the Economic Policy of the Russian Government"]

[Text] In debates about the economic policy conducted by the "Gaydar team" the essence of this policy is often identified with macroeconomic stabilization of the monetarist type. But there are a number of special features. Perhaps the most important is the lack of tight control over incomes designed to prevent development of the inflationary spiral, and the "nonintroduction" of internal ruble convertibility for current headings of the balance of payments.

A similar policy was conducted in Yugoslavia and from August 1989 through 1 January 1990 in Poland. Having thoroughly researched this model of development, the well known Polish economist G. Kolodko concluded that, in addition to dramatic price hikes, it is characterized by persisting shortages in the national economy. He even coined a special term for this combination—surprising at first glance—of free prices and shortages: "shortflation."

There is absolutely no doubt that all this was known to those now at the helm of the Russian economy. In this particular instance, the government has quite deliberately "trodden on a rake." But why?

To answer this question, we have to look back to fall of last year. Control over wholesale prices on the territory of the former USSR had been almost completely lost, while control over retail prices had been considerably weakened but still remained. Turnover tax was shrinking as a result, dealing the final blow to the Russian budget,

which was already at death's door. The USSR State Bank was unable to do anything with the republic central banks (including the Russian Bank, perhaps more than the rest), which were busy issuing credit in an attempt somehow to close the gaping hole in the budget. The economic war between the republics was intensifying. In addition to erecting all kinds of customs offices and adopting legislation banning the export of an ever longer list of goods from their territory, the republics were making increasingly active use of "progressive economic" methods of struggle: By unilaterally raising prices and wages, they endeavored to give additional protection to their own markets and encourage their citizens to make forays into neighboring territory.

The country was increasingly coming to resemble a pair of siamese twins who had quarreled irredeemably. Each of them displayed amazing inventiveness in their attempts to independently ensure their well-being, but the only result was to plunge the country ever deeper into chaos. G. Yavlinskiy made heroic efforts to reconcile and somehow consolidate the republics on the basis of an economic agreement. But it was clear from the very outset (at least, that is how our institute assessed the situation when reviewing the draft of this agreement) that, given the situation, the most that could be achieved was the adoption of a declarative document.

Set in this historical context, the choice made by the "Gaydar team" seems perfectly logical. What is the point of trying to restrain retail prices and incomes if this is only going to destroy the Russian budget completely and place the Russian population in worse conditions than people living in other republics? What madman could even contemplate autonomously introducing internal ruble convertibility in a situation where money emission is beyond his control? Surely it is better to liberalize prices and wages practically completely while reforming the taxation system to ensure an automatic increase in budget revenue as inflation develops?

It could seem that these arguments should have been amended after Russia "nationalized" the USSR State Bank and therefore the [money] printing press. There is also the view that the Belovezhskaya meeting opened up new opportunities for achieving economic accords. In my view, both views are wrong. By "taking over" the production of paper money, Russia has assumed responsibility for distributing it among the republics. But it certainly has not restricted their ability to issue credit in noncash form; on the contrary, it has apparently legitimized this practice, which was dubious from a legal point of view in the USSR State Bank's "lifetime." However, as is well known, the time when noncash circulation was almost totally separate from banknote circulation has long since passed into oblivion.

I also think that the elimination of Union (interrepublic) economic structures has only complicated life for Russia. The removal of the "hated" center, which no longer had any real power anyway, immediately showed that many conflicts between it and the republics were in reality covert conflicts between the republics themselves. Now these have come to the surface, and it would be strange if Russia were not at the center. Having failed to secure any real change in the republics' positions on questions concerning regulation of the economic area, which has still not totally disintegrated, Russia has in fact voluntarily assumed the role of lightning rod successfully played by the center until now. It had no alternative but to embark autonomously on reforms.

The leap in prices resulting from their liberalization has been far more dramatic than the government had hoped. I personally would not venture to blame it for this, as there are simply no reliable methods of forecasting this kind of process. Indeed, we should try putting ourselves in the shoes of any producer at the time of a one-shot liberalization of prices. He knows nothing about the price of the raw materials and components needed for his products, about the wages he is supposed to pay to his workers, or about the situation with regard to demand. His only choice is to conjure up the price of his goods "out of thin air." Although, objectively speaking, the overwhelming majority of goods are monstrously overpriced in relation to the amount of money the final consumers have, it will take time for the signal to travel along the entire chain of reproduction and come back in the form of lower prices.

Although it was impossible to foresee that the leap in prices would be so great, it cannot be ignored. The main danger now is that a very substantial proportion of our society is faced with the prospect of total degradation of their standard of living and even hunger. To wait passively in these conditions until the disparity between exorbitant prices and the level of the population's income finally takes effect would be to play with fire.

The situation is exacerbated by the fact that, in our conditions, speeding up inflation is just as difficult as containing it. As if in confirmation of our claims to the title "country of wonders," we have managed to place an unexpected barrier in the way of inflation: the physical inability to print the number of banknotes needed for it to run its "normal course." This is unlikely to be compensated by any broad development of check turnover, as savings banks and the trade network itself are unprepared. We could try to speed up money circulation by paying wages weekly, but here too it is not entirely clear how organizationally prepared we are for this.

The world has provided more than one example of countries living with hyperinflation for many years. But that was not the aim of the Russian Government. One valid reason for taking the course of liberalizing prices and incomes in conditions making it impossible to conduct a tough financial policy was that it made it possible to avoid the immediate collapse of the budget, protect the interests of the republic's population to a certain extent, and ultimately gain the time needed to prepare the next stage of the reform.

What is this time needed for? Presumably when the present economic policy was being drawn up, its authors allowed for two scenarios: Either agreement would be reached during this period with the other republics on coordinating their economic transformations and clear decisions would be made regarding the basic mechanisms of a single economic area, or a final conclusion on the need for independent implementation of reforms would have to be made. For the latter to be possible, detailed preparation for the introduction of our own currency was necessary.

It now has to be stated that, as far as most of our former partners in the USSR are concerned, the first scenario is unlikely. Many independent states have embarked on a course of economic isolation, although sometimes their representatives are not averse to discussing nuances known only to them in the concepts of a "single economic area" and "common market." They make it clear that if "foreigners" have nothing good to say about their countries' economic future, they would do best to keep quiet. Otherwise they will throw hysterics. Well, we will heed this wise advice and keep quiet.

As far as Russia is concerned, the cost of setting economic relations with the other republics on a new footing will be extremely great: the loss of ports and the division of oil and gas pipelines alone, for example. But surely the cost of uncertainty—essentially blocking the possibility of implementing a healthy economic policy—is no less?

The Russian Government is clearly running out of time. It has managed to gain time, but, to all appearances, considerably less than planned. In principle, it has three options. To continue the course it has begun, in spite of the growing political risk. To make substantial amendments, such as introducing ration cards, which would run counter to the logic of radical transformations in general. Or to implement monetary reform, which would make it possible to start a "new life" on an independent basis.

Unfortunately, these three options are not independent of one another. The third is only realistic if the technical preparation for introducing our own currency has been completed. If that is not the case, much will depend on how much more time is needed to complete this preparation. One thing is clear: It is no longer possible to simply wait and hope that everything will somehow fall into place of its own accord.

Footnote

1. Aleksandr Dmitriyevich Nekipelov was born in 1951. He graduated from the Economics Department of the M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University. He is a doctor of economic sciences and deputy director of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute for International Economic and Political Research. He has written scientific works on economic relations in Eastern Europe and general economic theory.

Supreme Soviet

Yeltsin Addresses Supreme Soviet

LD1302092792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0700 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Speech and answers to deputies questions by Russian President Boris Yeltsin at the Russian Supreme Soviet session in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed chairman! Esteemed people's deputies and members of the government!

I consider it necessary to brief you on the results of official visits to Great Britain, the United States, Canada, and France. For a large state such as Russia foreign policy is of particular significance. This is not only one of the traditions of our state, and one that it intends to continue unswervingly, but also an insistent requirement of our times. Unless the consequences of having had a closed country and society are overcome, unless full-blooded contacts with the world community are developed, Russia will not be able to become a modern, civilized state.

At the same time it is not a matter of indifference to us by what road and what conditions we return to the world community. Much depended on Russia's first independent foreign policy steps. In the course of intensive contacts with the leaders of the leading states of the world, two main tasks were set: first, to secure Russia's entry into the civilized community; second, to enlist maximum support for our efforts toward Russia's transformation.

On 31 January, for the first time in 47 years, a summit conference of the UN Security Council took place. Taking part in it were leaders of 15 states. Of course, such a meeting was not organized by chance: the changes which have taken place in the world in the past few years have substantially changed its character. The confrontation of the two sociopolitical systems became a thing of the past. The arms race has been stopped. Commitment to reduce military arsenals and carry out conversion in its broadest sense are becoming a factor of world politics.

The end of the 20th century furnished mankind with an opportunity to start the difficult work of transforming the entire life on the planet on the basis of universal human principles. The fact that Russia and other states have freed themselves from the captivity of totalitarian illusions makes it possible to substantially strengthen the climate of trust among peoples and to form partnerlike and friendly relations among countries. The Security Council summit meeting debated precisely these issues. For the first time it was said within the UN walls that our country adheres to the system of values of the civilized world. Together with the United States, Russia put forward a range of radical proposals on nuclear and conventional disarmament. It is our intention to become involved in UN peacekeeping operations. The Russian Federation has pledged to bring its laws completely in

line with world standards in the area of human rights. The results of the Security Council's summit meeting make it possible to enhance the practical yield of UN activities. It is, in particular, proposed to set up multilateral instruments to neutralize threats connected with nationalist conflagrations and with ethnic and religious conflicts. This is fully in keeping with Russia's interests and with the interests of our citizens, including those that live on the territory of other Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] states.

Within the framework of the UN Security Council sitting, there took place substantive meetings with the leaders of a number of major powers: China, Japan, India, and France. During the talks with the leaders of these countries, an unequivocal view was expressed that it is necessary to elevate bilateral relations with these countries to a qualitatively new level. In the first place, it is proposed to conclude full-fledged political treaties and a range of agreements on various directions of cooperation. In the second place, mutual understanding was attained on the need to build our relations, right from the start, in all their diversity, at the level of states, regions, enterprises, and citizens.

Third, it was stressed that our relations will take a fundamentally peaceful direction and content.

A working meeting with U.S. President Bush took place at Camp David. This meeting lasted many hours. Its results bear witness to the fact that relations between Russia and the United States have attained a new quality, something that is enshrined in the declaration that was agreed upon at Camp David. Russia and the United States no longer see each other as potential adversaries. This radically alters the whole atmosphere of the world as it is today. It was found possible to make serious headway in agreeing upon our moves in a key area of security—nuclear disarmament.

The focal points of attention were, first and foremost, our proposals on reductions in warheads, offensive weapons, to a level of minimal sufficiency, a reduction from 12,500 strategic warheads to 2,500, and the joint creation and use of a global system of protecting the planet.

The talks will be continued during the U.S. secretary of state's working visit to Russia on 17-18 February. The U.S. side is studying our proposals on the safe storage and effective use of the plutonium and uranium retrieved from the warheads, on a joint Russian-U.S. orbital station, and on setting up an international center to support Russian science. The U.S. Congress has allocated $4 million for these purposes.

A frank discussion took place on the entire complex of Russian- U.S. relations. We felt that the United States is vitally interested in the success of the Russian reforms. Our course, the strengthening of the CIS, received support. These historical contacts with the highest leadership in the United States were reinforced with an active dialogue with the leaders of Congress and the business world. Our delegation took a frank and constructive stand. Russia is striving to establish economic cooperation with our U.S. partners and to develop it dynamically. I think that today the majority of Russian citizens understand how important this is.

Today it is possible to say definitively that sentiments in U.S. business circles are undergoing fundamental change, an about-face toward extensive economic cooperation with Russia. Representatives of leading U.S. corporations were positive in their response to our readiness to provide the necessary, and in a number of sectors preferential, conditions for investment. This is primarily a matter of those economic spheres that are engaged in the production of consumer goods and foodstuffs and related sectors. We put forward specific projects and trends for cooperation.

It is particularly important that the West's widespread opposition to long-term cooperation and one-shot actions to support the reforms has begun to be overcome. Our position of principle that reform in Russia is not only a domestic matter of our own but also a weighty component in the construction of a new world order was widely recognized. In the event that reform in Russia fails, the world will inevitably come up against a new wave of instability, cold and hot conflicts, and the arms race.

The United States spoke in favor of Russian entry to the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as soon as possible. It seems this will take place as early as the spring of this year. Membership in these powerful organizations will give Russia access to considerable financial resources and will enable the economic reforms to be carried out more efficiently and more dynamically.

An accord was reached that a delegation of the major banks and companies will soon come to Moscow to tackle the specifics of Russian-U.S. cooperation. During my meeting with Congress leaders, the desire was expressed for restrictions on trade and technological exchange with Russia to be lifted, as was the need to create mechanisms within the United States to encourage private U.S. investment in the Russian economy.

The U.S. side received this positively.

My brief but intensive meetings and talks in Great Britain bore fruitful results. Our cooperation with that country got off to a good start. A Russian-British declaration on partnership in the 1990's was signed. Russia and Great Britain see one another as friendly states. The need was acknowledged for a full Russian- British treaty to be signed soon. Prime Minister John Major stated that in 1992 he is allocating 280 million pounds sterling to back medium-term export credit and capital investment insurance.

During the second part of the year, when Great Britain will have the presidency of the European Community, it

intends to submit a proposal that an agreement on trade and cooperation be concluded between the EEC and Russia. During the talks mutual understanding was reached on cooperation on the control of nuclear weapons and the safety of nuclear materials.

The talks in Canada were productive, too. From the first minute, the talks with Prime Minister Mulroney and with Canada's statesmen were businesslike and specific in character. Canada made a number of initiatives in accordance with which a new grain agreement has been signed under which Russia will purchase 5 million tonnes of grain each year over a five-year period. Prime Minister Mulroney also announced the granting of an additional credit of $300 million to Russia for the acquisition of grain. This is in addition to the credits that were unfrozen immediately. One hundred million dollars has also been made available to us which we can use as we see fit. This will most likely go to the development of the Russian oil and gas industry. The duty on goods we supply to Canada is being reduced by 30 percent. Mulroney also expressed a willingness to assist Russia's admission into the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

We attach particular significance to the visit to France. Relations between our countries go back centuries. The Russian- French dialogue has great traditions. Our peoples have a great fellow feeling for each other. It is symbolic that France is the country that the new Russia is concluding its first political treaty with. It envisages considerable expansion of cooperation in the economic, political, cultural, and scientific-technological spheres, and through military exchanges.

France and Russia confirmed that they regard the development of economic cooperation as a most important task. For this purpose, a council for trade, economic, financial, and industrial matters to be headed on our side by Gaydar, and by Beregovoy, French minister of state for economy, finance, and the budget. Accords were reached on providing Russia with credits totalling about 4 billion francs, including 2 billion for grain, 200 million for beef, and 1.5 billion for equipment and industrial production. The above-mentioned credits will be offered to the Foreign Trade Bank of Russia and guaranteed by the Russian Government. The sides agreed that the protocol of 31 October last year on food supplies to Russia—sugar, beef, dried milk, and baby food worth 2.3 billion francs—will come into force this month. An agreement was signed on cooperation in the field of the application of methods for regulating the economy. This means we will be provided with consultation and expert services on various aspects of economic reform in Russia.

France confirmed its intention to offer Russia technical assistance and to participate in the training of Russian specialists. France also said it will support Russia's joining of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as a full member. A contract was signed during the visit according to which the French company Elf Aquitaine will carry out oil prospecting in the area of Volgograd and Saratov oblasts, with subsequent sharing of what is produced. Within the framework of this cooperation the company intends to invest approximately $2 billion in oil prospecting, development of the deposit, and oil refining. The development of economic cooperation will be promoted by letters of exchange that have been signed on avoiding double taxation and encouraging the mutual protection of capital investments.

Esteemed people's deputies, at the present time personal contact has been established by the Russian leadership with the leaders of the world's most developed states. A democratic zone of trust, cooperation, and security is being formed across the northern hemisphere. It is in the interests of Russia to play an active part in these processes. The creation of a common space for cooperation will allow the full linking of the potential of the greatest democratic powers to the solution of the tasks of Russia's economic renaissance. But without a doubt, our state is carrying the main burden on its own shoulders. Now the need for a series of urgent measures to galvanize our economic policy has become clear. Today the sitting of the Russian Government will assess the success of the first month and a half since the reforms began. Measures will be discussed to introduce the necessary amendments to our economic policy, taking your proposals into account, of course. Life is constantly changing, and so they are natural and even inevitable. We also have to discuss proposals for supplementary social security for the most vulnerable strata of society, and also for the stepping up of agrarian reforms. Everything essential must be done to carry out the sowing normally.

On 19 February I will speak on Russian television and describe in detail the decisions that will be adopted today, concerning the course of the reform and other questions which today trouble Russia's citizens. I want to emphasize that the government is ready and that it will cooperate in a flexible manner, taking realities into account. At the same time, government efforts alone are, of course, insufficient to implement the reforms. I confirm yet again my readiness to cooperate with the Supreme Soviet, with the deputies, and with all political forces that are in favor of reforms. If we succeed in preserving and strengthening our trust in one another and our need and readiness for cooperation, we will have traversed in a worthy manner the difficult path fate has decreed for us. Thank you for your attention.

[Chairman Khasbulatov] Thank you, Boris Nikolayevich. Perhaps, according to tradition, we should now take one question from each microphone. Is that all right with you, Boris Nikolayevich? Microphone No. 1, please.

[Zakharov] People's Deputy Zakharov, constituency No. 684. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich: We have just listened

very carefully to your speech on the results of your trip and are glad that our Russia is now entering the civilized world community with equal rights. But I have a question for you on a somewhat different subject; it is a question about our domestic policy and, first and foremost, Boris Nikolayevich, I would like to fix your attention to the resolution of the agrarian issue. The situation here today—I will speak bluntly, but it will be a correct assessment—the situation here today can be described as catastrophic. Of this we are convinced by two forums that were held recently, the farmers' congress and the agrarians' congress, which is currently taking place. The speeches at these congresses by your closest assistants have shown that the situation today is probably going beyond that level. A pressing request to you: Bearing in mind your work as chairman of the Supreme Soviet and chairman of the extraordinary food commission, could you perhaps at the present tense time return to that practice and hold a meeting in the very near future? We agricultural deputies could give some help in this so that all efforts are made to ensure that the spring sowing campaign proceeds in an organized way and, in some way, removes the acute nature of this very important problem. I have this proposal and request and question for you and I thank you in advance for your reply.

[Yeltsin] Fine. I fully agree with you and am prepared to respond to your proposal. I believe that it is indeed essential now, in the present situation. I know about the results both of the meeting, the congress with the farmers, and of yesterday's meeting with chairmen and directors of kolkhozes and sovkhozes that was attended by Burbulis. There are indeed problems and, among other things, they are connected with the sowing campaign that will begin literally in the next month and a half, so to speak. As far as the reform is concerned, this will be discussed today in the Russian Government and I think that we will amend something here and there with due regard for the proposals that were expressed at those two forums by our people from the countryside. At the same time, I want to say that yesterday we had a chat with Vice President Rutskoy, in a constructive spirit and understanding each other's positions. He has been instructed to take responsibility for the agrarian reform in Russia—so that, I mean, his time is taken up, to the limit.

[Khasbulatov] Second microphone, your question, please. Your attention, deputies, please. Second microphone.

[Isakov] Deputy Isakov. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, during your trip you spoke a great deal of the dangers of a red and brown plague. There has been a huge amount of conjecturing in the press as to just who you had in mind. My question is: Do you include in this red and brown plague those hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens who attended meetings 9 February to protest against price liberalization, the avalanche of privatization, and the collapse of the army, and to support the restoration of the USSR?

[Yeltsin] Of course I could not put the people in that category. I refer to those leaders—a number of leaders of a number of parties and public organizations—who favor the, as it were, restoration of the old ways, so to speak, of a totalitarian state above all.

[Khasbulatov] Microphone three, please, your question.

[Federenko] Federenko, 61st Territorial Constituency. Most esteemed Boris Nikolayevich. We are all following your vigorous activities to set up the CIS and now to form a new foreign policy for our country with great attention. All the same, given the difficult situation that has developed here in Russia—the economic situation—we should like to know what your, the president of Russia's relations with the vice president are like.

[Yeltsin] I have already answered that question when I said that there had not been a meeting of this kind for a long time, and the need for one had become pressing, particularly after recent events. So yesterday there was a 2-hour conversation, during which we reached understanding, so to speak, of one another and obtained support from the vice president for all actions which emanate from the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the government from the point of view of reform, and so on. We defined the sphere of his work, which is moreover, to be very specific, reporting back to the president every two weeks with information from the Supreme Soviet, and once every month or two on the agrarian reform which is being carried out. So let us together strictly monitor the actual work of the vice president, and make him responsible for it and its results.

[Khasbulatov] Microphone four. Please go ahead.

[Rogacheva] Thank you. Rogacheva, Constituency No. 507, Murmansk. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, we people's deputies are extremely proud that we represent Russia, which is a great maritime power, and we are proud that our president also represents this maritime power. But unfortunately, a tendency has emerged these days toward the squandering of the mineral and living resources of the ocean, in particular the continental shelf and the 200-mile economic zone. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, unfortunately today neither the structure of our legislative power nor of our executive power has a coordinating center that can comprehensively deal with matters of political, economic, and ecological security in the waters of the zone that I have just mentioned. No one is dealing with these matters today and we do not have a body today to deal with the security of this zone. So I have a proposal to make to you. Could the issue of establishing a department for maritime affairs within the structure of Russia's executive power not be examined? Such departments exist today in all countries, in all maritime powers. Thank you for your attention.

[Yeltsin] I agree. We will respond urgently to your proposal. I believe it is essential.

[Rogacheva] Thank you.

[Khasbulatov] Microphone No. 5. Please go ahead. This is the last question.

[Blokhin] People's deputy of Russia Blokhin. Boris Nikolayevich, I would like to learn the motives for what seems to me to be already a definite tendency. We know that the chairman of our Committee for International Relations has virtually been appointed ambassador to the United States. Information was broadcast on the radio today to the effect that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev has been appointed Russia's representative at the United Nations. We would like to know why people who came to the reform of foreign policy right at the start and who, in my view, have done a great deal for it, are now suddenly moving away, to important posts, but nonetheless posts which are dependent on the actual foreign policy of Russia. How is this to be explained? If one bears in mind the fact that we have inherited a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a ministry of 2,500 people, with certain, let us say, not very progressive tendencies, then what is this, a tendency of the president or is it a series of coincidences? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] Let me answer the second question first of all. As Mark Twain put it: the rumors of my death are somewhat exaggerated.

[Blokhin] Thank you.

[Yeltsin] Kozyrev is not being appointed to any post. He is working as foreign minister and remains in that job. He is alive and well and is sitting in front of you. [applause]

[Blokhin] Thank you. Then we need to sort this out with the radio.

[Yeltsin] Regarding the appointment of Vladimir Petrovich Lukin as ambassador, this matter was agreed with Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

[Khasbulatov] Furthermore, I can say that this initiative came, to a certain extent, from Vladimir Petrovich himself. Well, that is all, as we agreed. Boris Nikolayevich, thank you very much.

Defense Industry Conversion Discussed

LD1202210192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Russian parliament has been dicussing the military problems too, but in a different aspect.

[Correspondent Tsigankov] How to solve economic problems more effectively during conversion of the military and defense enterprises—this was the subject of debates today in the Soviet of the Republics of the Russian Supreme Soviet when the draft law on conversion of this industry in the republic was discussed.

Nevertheless, after an exchange of views lasting an hour and a half, despite of a number of serious comments made by the deputies about the draft, it was approved. This has probably happened because the rapid changes in our society and in the world at large forced the parliamentarians to speed up adoption of this legislative act.

At the evening session a package of four laws dealing with protection of the industrial and intellectual property was presented. The need for this was dictated by the improvement of relations between the creators of such property, the enterpreneur who is using the results of this labor, and the interests of the society as a whole.

Also today the deputies have been working on the law on criminal investigation activities in the Russian Federation with sufficient speed which was prompted by the need to combat the organizing criminal groups and illegal drug dealing. Amendments to the law on mineral resources submitted to the Soviet of Nationalities were also adopted.

Defense Conversion Bill Adopted

LD1202205192 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Vinitskaya]

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—The Soviet of the Republic of the Russian parliament on Wednesday [12 February] approved a first reading of the bill "on conversion of the defense industry in the Russian Federation". The bill lays down legal foundations for the activity of defense-related enterprises, as defense orders are being cut or cancelled altogether.

Under the bill, the state is obliged to inform enterprises in good time on any changes in the plans and contracts under defense order. The right on social defense, envisaged by the law, is based on the existing republican legislation and does not require additional budget allocations.

The defense lobby made a proposal that workers, who lose their jobs as a result of the conversion drive after working more than 15 years in the branch, should continue to enjoy social benefits and retain the right to receive municipal housing.

On taxation, the bill bases itself on the documents that have already been passed by the Russian parliament. Particularly, funds used by enterprises for reinvestment, re-tooling, research and development are exempted from taxation. The bill also suggests exempting from taxes centralised funds used for research and development by associations of enterprises.

The parliament passed a resolution instructing an appropriate committee of the parliament to revise the bill and submit it for second reading within a month.

Official Warns of Problems

LD1302115692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2026 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Remarks by Mikhail Dmitriyevich Maley, state counsellor on conversion issues, at 12 February session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow during debate on draft law on conversion of industry in the Russian Federation; from the "At the Russian Supreme Soviet session" program—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed chairman, esteemed comrade people's deputies, I would like to say immediately that I, as Russian Federation state counsellor on conversion, and also my colleagues, support the decision of the Supreme Soviet to adopt a law on conversion. Inspite of its clearly apparent shortcomings, such a law will have a favorable influence on the state of Russia's industry and economy.

At the same time, I would like to draw your attention to certain conceptual shortcomings in the law and, since it is still in its first reading, it is perhaps easy to amend it.

One of the deputies said that conversion is an expensive matter, and experts agree on the estimate of the cost for converting the Russian military-industrial complex at around 150 billion rubles [R] in 1990 prices. Since this does not include an inflated dollar-ruble exchange rate, this conversion can also be estimated at approximately $150 billion.

Everyone understands that conversion requires expenditure. The Gorbachev version of physical conversion which was announced will not give the agricultural workers anything. It will only give them equipment which is 100 times more expensive than they can afford. And if we look truth straight in the eye then we do not have the resources for conversion. Therefore, the draft law also avoids the question of sources for finacing conversion.

We must also remember that the majority of enterprises in the military-industrial complex are federal property, consequently this is a federal task. Consequently, the sources of financing should also be federal. Any attempt to lay the expenses of conversion on the enterprises will inevitably lead to these expenses being laid on the consumers. Also, since we have oriented the military-industrial complex toward producing consumer goods or agricultural equipment, this means that this is who will really have to pay the expenses of conversion.

I would like to ask you to understand the essence of my proposal. We must give up the concept of physical conversion, whereby one takes a military works which used to produce artillery pieces and which begins to produce machines to make pastry. I would like to declare to you with all authority and responsibility that the fall in labor productivity, measured in monetary terms, at all Russian defense enterprises is from 30-fold to 120-fold. It is possible to compensate for such a fall in labor productivity only by means of a price policy—prices must rise to the same extent. But these goods will become uncompetitive even on our own domestic market.

Therefore, there are no resources to finance this physical conversion in Russia, apart from one way—simply to close these enterprises. But some 12 million people work in the sphere of the military-industrial complex. Taking account of their families this amounts to some 30 million people. We cannot ignore their fate in the future, either. This would be a national catastrophe when taking into account the fact that a number of works are located in places where the works and the settlement are one and the same thing.

There is a way to find sources of finance for conversion. This way is to adopt the concept of economic conversion. It is not the same as when the military-industrial complex of the Soviet Union and subsequently of Russia used taxpayers' money, turned it into types of weapons, and handed it to the Ministry of Defense within the country, thus freezing the results of people's labor. The concept of economic conversion transfers the expenditure and responsibility for financing our physical conversion onto the international community. The essence of economic conversion lies in orienting Russia's military-industrial complex toward exports, at least for the next four years, and by exporting the products of the military-industrial complex it is possible to find the necessary funds to carry out the physical conversion of enterprises.

I would also like to tell you that if the concept of economic converstion is not accepted—that is the self-financing of conversion by means of selling military equipment and armaments—then we must without fail create a federal conversion fund and at the same time make budgetary injections. Credits rates of 40, 50, or 120 percent are beyond the means of works undergoing conversion. They are also uncompetitive on the credit market. They are unable to take credits and are deprived even of this source for financing physical conversion.

I will not take up any more of your time, but I would like you, when you make the decision to adopt the first reading or the second reading of this law, to take account of these factors. Thank you.

Market Economy Conversion Legislation Passed

OW1202191192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1724 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Council of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet [as received] passed a bill on conversion today. The bill regulates the organization, financing and direction of conversion in a market economy. The section on international economic relations grants the firms the right to export freed up raw materials and equipment and import equipment, technology, and parts to produce new products. Firms also have the power to form joint

ventures with foreign firms to produce consumer goods and bring in foreign credits.

Postponement of Coup Hearings on Army Explained

PM1202153592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 2

[S. Drozdov report: "Test Alarm at Russian Parliament"]

[Text] The parliamentary hearings on the Army's role in the August events did not take place at the "White House" yesterday. The main participants in the session were busy with affairs of state. Marshal Shaposhnikov—who, as current head of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] military department and successor to former minister Yazov—was to have attended the hearings and given his views, flew to Minsk yesterday evening with Army General Kobets in order to settle matters related to the Army before the CIS leaders gather there 14 February.

As a result, the hearings have been postponed to 18 February, which, in the opinion of Sergey Yushenkov, member of the commission examining the circumstances of the putsch, is even better. By then the fate of our Army will have been finally decided in Minsk and, depending on how it is decided, the hearings may have to discuss the Russian concept for the Armed Forces.

There are definite overtones to the fact that the commission should ideally have completed its investigations and submitted its final conclusions on 15 February. As is well known, the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium reached this decision after parliamentary speaker Khasbulatov expressed dissatisfaction with the poor results of the commission's work, hinting that if it was working so ineffectually there would be no point keeping it.

Aleksandr Obolenskiy, the leader of the former Union parliament's analogous commission, who has disappeared along with all the documents, has still not turned up. The Prosecutor's Office is not currently looking for him, since there has been no official statement from the parliamentary leadership or any other officials. Some believe that he has "gone underground" to write a book—since he has plenty of material—and will turn up in a week's time. If this happens before 18 February and the manuscript is made public, the Russian Parliamentary hearings might not be needed.

Regional Affairs

Further Reportage on Chechen Developments

Curfew Quiets Groznyy

LD1302105492 Moscow TASS in English 1017 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy February 13 TASS—No shootings were registered last night in Groznyy, the first time in many months, evidently, thanks to the curfew introduced two days ago.

The city is being divided in special commandant's zones and check points are being set up on major highways, according to the order of Said-Ahmed Udiyev, the military comandant of the city and first deputy interior minister of Checheno-Ingushetia. Patrols are authorised to check vehicles and search people in curfew hours with the aim of detaining criminals and confiscating illegal weapons.

A great number of criminals, who escaped from local jails last autumn and are waiting for a revision of their cases, were ordered to stay at home round the clock and can go out only with a special permit from the commandant.

Temporary permits are issued to all those who work at night in the city.

Transport, enterprises and shops are functioning normally in Groznyy.

The curfew was introduced in the Chechen capital for 30 days.

Dudayev Wants Troops To Go

LD1202170192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1440 GMT 12 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] According to some sources, President Dzhakhar Dudayev of the Chechen Republic agrees that Commonwealth troops be withdrawn from the republic together with weapons, ammunition and equipment.

PF [POSTFACTUM] has learnt from confidential sources that this agreement was the result of the meeting between Colonel-General Pavel Grachev, first deputy commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth armed forces, and President Dudayev in Groznyy on February 11. However, Dudayev does not intend to make public his position at present fearing that his relations with the opposition can be complicated.

On February 11, Grachev also toured a garrison that was attacked on February 8 and held a conference with the command of the Groznyy garrison and representatives of the staff of the North-Caucasian Military District.

Calmness prevailed near garrisons in Groznyy on February 11 and 12. The National Guard tightened its guarding measures. The curfew that was imposed on February 11 was outwardly received by citizens calmly.

Nothing is known about the fate of Captain Vladimir Vashchenko, who was taken by the attackers of the garrison of the Motor Rifle Division on February 8. PF was told in the republican prosecutor's office that an

investigation into the Vashchenko case is being conducted. Prosecutor General of the Chechen Republic Elza Sheripova issued a decree on February 11 on measures to establish law and order in the republic, which envisages reporting to the president of the republic within the five-day term the results of the initial investigative actions and making them public through mass media.

Official: Troops Remain Neutral

LD1202170492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1440 GMT 12 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Groznyy—The head of the Troops Service Department with the North-Caucasian Military District headquarters: Information in the media about casualties among the servicemen in the units stationed in Groznyy is false. What is true is that one person, Captain Vashchenko, is missing, said the head of the troops department of the North-Caucasian Military District (NCMD) headquarters, Colonel Vladimir Bozhenko appearing on the Rostov TV on February 11. The Chechens are using heavy trucks to ram the gates of the units premises and then, hiding behind women and children, occupy the headquarters and barracks, he said, but there are no shootings between the locals and the servicemen. The NCMD troops observe strict neutrality, Bozhenko stressed.

Bozhenko refused to either deny or confirm the information the Rostov TV had received from unofficial sources about Vice-President of Russia Aleksandr Rutskoy, the deputy commander-in-chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] armed forces, Colonel-General Pavel Grachev and the deputy commander of the Army, General Boris Gromov now being in Groznyy to seek a political settlement of the conflict. Bozhenko said he was not in a position to make any statement on this score.

Vitebsk Airborne Division To Land

OW1202183792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1724 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] During a meeting with the Chechen leader Dzhakhar Dudayev in Groznyy February 11 First Deputy Commander-in-Chief, Colonel General Grachev confirmed that the Vitebsk airborne division was scheduled to land in the Chechen Republic February 8 night in order to protect local military units from attacks by militants. This information was provided to IF [INTERFAX] by Chairman of the Chechen Committee on Information and Press Movladi Udugov. He pointed out that Grachev and Dudayev had discussed the fate of the Commonwealth Armed Forces' units stationed on the Chechen territory and "reached understanding virtually on all the issues". However, Udugov did not indicate any specific agreements.

TV Warns Moscow Remains Threat

LD1202191492 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuev]

[Text] Groznyy, February 12 TASS—Despite a lull in tensions between Russia and the Chechen Republic, local television warned today that Moscow could still apply pressure on the breakaway republic.

The nightly news programme said that Russia planned to send the Vitebsk paratroopers division to the republic.

An increase in military air traffic to neighbouring Dagestan from locations in Russia is also an alarming signal, local television said.

The Chechen people are alarmed by rumours that the Russian parliament Presidium will meet behind closed doors to decide the republic's future.

Local newspapers today published a telegram by the Chechen Republic's Ethnic Council to the Russian parliament Presidium, denouncing any unilateral solution.

The council asked the Russian parliament to expedite bilateral high-level talks.

Dagestan, Chechen Argue Over Territory

PM1202135592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 92 p 1

[Untitled report from PRAVDA, ITAR, TASS, and URAL-AKTSEPT roundup]

[Text] Friction has arisen on the usually calm border between the Chechen Republic and Dagestan. Inhabitants of several settlements in Chechnya's Nozhayyurtovskiy Rayon and the neighboring villages of Dagestan's Kazbekovskiy Rayon are disputing with each other lands of an area of more than 3,000 hectares.

Gorno-Altay Republic Formed; Officials Elected

LD1302100392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0913 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentin Pavlov]

[Text] Gorno-Altaysk, 13 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—A decision on changing the name of Gorno-Altay Soviet Socialist Republic to Gornyy Altay Republic has been made by the Supreme Soviet of this republic. Valeriy Chaptynov was elected chairman of the parliament and Vladimir Petrov chairman of the republic's government.

Buryats Decline To Introduce Presidency

LD1302095392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] Buryatia's parliament has declined to introduce the office of president. This was learned today after voting by people's deputies at the morning sitting of a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet in Ulan-Ude. A majority opposed making amendments or addenda to the Constitution of the Buryat Soviet Socialist Republic.

Khakass Deputies Disagree on Independence Vote

OW1202133592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1055 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The first parliamentary session in the Khakass Republic (until recently an autonomous republic within the Krasnayarsk region, Siberia—IF [INTERFAX]) ended in Abakan on Tuesday [11 February] without adopting a declaration of state independence as initially planned.

IF's correspondent reports that the Khakass MPs [members of parliament], who number only 13 in the 100-member parliamentary body, insisted on full state independence for Khakassia. The Russian-speaking parliamentarians, obviously fearing an outburst of nationalist feelings on the part of the indigenous population that finds itself in minority in the republic, actually blocked the debates.

The session decided to delay the discussion of draft documents on sovereignty and the republic's status till the next session, due to be held in Abakan in two weeks.

Vladimir Shtygashev, an ethnic Khakass, was elected head of parliament. The prime minister's post went to Yevgeni Smirnov, a Russian.

St. Petersburg Communists To Meet 15 Feb

OW1202195492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1846 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The regional conference of the Russian Communist Workers' Party will be held in St. Petersburg February 15. Party member Mikhail [word indistinct] told INTERFAX that the organization has almost 2 thousand members. The party intends to create a council of workers "for the defense of our interests".

Members of other communist parties, the Marxist workers party, the Russian Communist Party and the All-Union Bolshevik Party, are invited to attend the St. Petersburg congress.

St. Petersburg To Host All-Russian Conference

OW1202215092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1846 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The St. Petersburg City Council calls an All-Russian coordinating conference of the leaders of councils at all levels. The conference is expected to work out a single position in relation to the government's economic reforms. One of the conference's organizers, Chairman of the St. Petersburg City Cnuncil Aleksandr Belyayev told IF [INTERFAX] that the two-day forum will be attended by leaders of 6 autonomous republics, 46 regions and districts and more than 93 Russian cities. A Russian parliamentary delegation will be led by Ruslan Khasbulatov.

'No New Ideas' in Moscow Government Changes

MK0802145092 Moscow DELOVOY MIR in Russian 7 Feb 92 p 1

[Boris Krotkov report: "Boris Kagaralitskiy: Moscow Soviet Paralyzed"]

[Text] It has become known that the new Moscow government is implementing the program of speeding up economic reforms. Moscow Soviet Deputy B. Kagarlitskiy, leader of the Russian Socialist Party, gives his opinion of the changes that have taken place in the capital's main executive organ.

[Kagarlitskiy] I do not think that there is a fundamentally new government in Moscow. Only two ministers have dropped out of the "team," including Karnaukhov, who was compromised by the scandals in the city's trade of which he is in charge. The others have only been shuffled around. There have been no substantial changes in the Popov-Luzhkov political course during the reorganization of the cabinet. No new ideas have come to light. As a result, I think that Muscovites, including entrepreneurs, won't have easier lives. I was surprised by Luzhkov's statement at the 24 January news conference that Moscow's City Hall and government have splendid relations with most of the city's entrepreneurial structures that are forming and have already grown strong. Actually Popov and Luzhkov have good relations with those people with whom they themselves or their subordinates have business connections. Incidentally, this does not mean firms and enterprises engaged in production. Incidentally, British legislator Ken Livingstone, former head of the [Greater] London Council, recently spoke at the Moscow Soviet, saying that if Popov and Luzhkov engaged in private business in London, they would long since have ended up in jail. This relates to the question of the kind of market that we are now setting up in our country.

The Moscow Soviet is currently in a state of paralysis because of a series of Yeltsin decrees that have expanded the mayor's powers still further. The Moscow Soviet

effectively retains one right: the right of veto. All other constructive opportunities have been taken away. So, the executive can replace [podstavlyat] us at will by making deputies out to be absolutely incapable of businesslike cooperation. Awareness of this situation two or three weeks ago brought a kind of political paralysis to the soviet.

There is an adverse element in all this for both the mayor and his government. They must now be prepared for the fact that their main challenge will come from the population of the capital itself. I do not think that they will have long to wait for this. Opposition to the government will form in two areas: the left-democratic and orthodox-communist. If over the next few months the former opposition does not make its presence felt as a real force, the second—the core of which is the "Trudovaya Moskva" bloc—will inevitably come to the fore.

Moscow Urged To Use Talks With Tatarstan

PM1002151592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 92 p 1

[I. Shablinskiy and V. Baydin report under "Forecast" rubric: "Kurultay's Decisions Could Have Unpredictable Consequences"]

[Text] The milli-majlis formed at the kurultay has been proclaimed as, in effect, a parallel organ of power to the Supreme Soviet. The legitimacy of the Supreme Soviet is thereby called into question.

An analogy with the situation in Chechnya inevitably comes to mind. The leaders of the "Ittifak" radical national party, it would appear, rate the methods used by General D. Dudayev exceptionally highly. However, the social base of the national democrats in Tatarstan is still quite narrow. It could widen markedly under the impact of at least two factors.

First, after the Tatar Social Center—the largest national association in the republic—clearly defines its position. During recent meetings with representatives of the Russian Federation Constitutional Commission, its leaders—in particular Marat Mulyukov and Damir Iskhakov—did not publicly support the idea of creating any alternatives to the existing power structures in Tatarstan. They see milli-majlis as a structure fulfilling primarily the function of national-cultural center of the Tatar nation. But perhaps their approach has already undergone changes?

Second, the balance may tip in favor of the national radicals as a result of any hasty actions by the federal authorities in Moscow. It is perfectly obvious that in the present situation it should guard against its former mistakes. Those who are already describing both the president of Tatarstan and the leadership of the Tatar SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet as "national traitors" are actively seeking the slightest cause to shout about the "imperial ambitions" of Moscow and Russians into the ears of every Tatar. The stratification of Tatarstan on ethnic lines remains to this very day an insoluble task for the national radicals.

Of course, various complications may lie ahead. For example, the stratification of the Tatar SSR Supreme Soviet itself with regard to the milli-majlis, or "ultra-radical" declarations by the latter whipping up tension. All this, however, would hardly of itself be able to destroy what is most important—the prevailing harmony in the mutual relations between Russians and Tatars in the republic. This should be especially prized. So the main instruments for "influencing the situation" as far as the Russian Federation is concerned should remain, certainly not "autocratic" shouts, but talks (though they may be long and exhausting). Internal Russian diplomacy is extremely specific and involves many stages. There is trade policy. There are relations with the international community, which so far recognizes only the Russian Federation as a subject of international law. Finally, a decision by the Russian Constitutional Court could ensue.

The Russian Federation within its present borders still has good chances of preserving its traditional integrity. But today this is possible only with the aid of nontraditional means.

Moscow's Foreign Currency Supply Said Low

LD1202231992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] The foreign currency at the disposal of the Moscow Government is not sufficient to supply the city's most elementary needs. Moscow's present foreign currency fund amounts to $5 million. In 1991 it was almost completely spent on acquiring spares for imported equipment for the city's main industrial enterprises, several dairies and bakeries, and a number of other enterprises.

Omsk Governor on Tank Sales Abroad

PM1202141392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Sergey Suslikov report: "Omsk Ready To Sell Tanks by Weight"]

[Text] Omsk—The press service ofthe Omsk Oblast Administration chief has reported that the Russian president has agreed to allow the oblast to sell part of its defense potential for peaceful purposes. This primarily applies to thousands of tanks that were until recently in the arsenal of Soviet divisions in East Germany and Czechoslovakia and which now are near Omsk.

After the Russian television appearance of L. Polezhayev, chief of the Omsk Oblast Administration, devoted to conversion problems, an avalanche of orders for the sale of tanks descended on Omsk. Yemen ordered six vehicles, North Ossetia ordered 15....

At the same time the Omsk mass media are seriously discussing the recommendation of the Russian Finance Ministry, which has suggested that tanks be sold by weight—$10,000 per tonne. Bearing in mind that one tank weighs 30 tonnes, there are 1,000 tanks, and there is no shortage of purchasers, small wonder that there are rapid changes in the position of the local leadership, which only recently was dreaming of any way to get rid of dangerous and poorly guarded combat equipment and which now, following the example of the people in Yekaterinburg, is trying to obtain a license to sell it. The tank business is a profitable one. The image of millions of dollars makes the head spin....

Your correspondent asked L. Polezhayev, chief of the Omsk Oblast Administration, to comment on the situation that has developed.

"I will clarify the press service's information," Polezhayev said. "As far as I know, this is what B. Yeltsin said at a recent meeting in the Russian Government with the heads of oblast administrations: 'Many questions are coming in from the provinces on the problem of selling weapons. This is a delicate question, but there is nothing shameful about it: The whole world is involved in it. So, if somebody finds purchasers, you are welcome to submit a proposal to the government, and we will decide.... Currency will remain at the oblast's disposal.'"

[Suslikov] Does it follow from this that the doors to the world arms market are now open and that dozens of Russian cities working for the Defense Ministry have the chance to try their luck in it? What will come of this?

[Polezhayev] I venture to assure you, nothing good.... But put yourself in our place. What can be done if 70 percent of output produced in Omsk is military hardware? What is there to trade in, how can the normal vital activity of a city of 1.5 million people be ensured? After all, we need sugar, medicines, feed grain, vegetable oil.... Indisputably the best option is to set up a special organ under the government to study the problems of selling weapons professionally. Be they oblasts or cities, military hardware producers must have a guaranteed percentage of the profit obtained. We will arrive at this procedure. I do not doubt that. The only question is when?

Kapustin Yar Missile Site Not To Be Converted

LD0902113692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] Major General Tonkikh, chief of the Kapustin Yar missile site, said that the site is not to be closed down. In a Russian TV interview, he stated that the site will not be touched by any conversion schemes. The general also said that there is no early prospect of Kapustin Yar becoming an open town.

Tatarstan Signs Agreement With Tajikistan

LD0902112192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0830 GMT 8 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan, 8 Feb (TASS)—A treaty on trade and economic cooperation for 1992 has been signed between Tatarstan and Tajikistan. Oil and petroleum products, "Kamaz" motor vehicles, and equipment will be supplied to the southern republic, while cotton, fruit, and vegetables will come to Tatarstan.

This is the tenth treaty that Tatarstan has signed with Commonwealth countries. Agreements with the Baltic states are being prepared for signing.

Sakhalin Governor Opposes 'Unlimited' Prices

OW1002181192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1347 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Head of administration in the Sakhalin region, Valentin Fedorov, said the subsidies allocated by the Russian Government for food products to the island inhabitants are just "an illusion and a direct fraud."

Speaking on the regional radio on Monday [10 February], Fedorov noted that to maintain, for instance, the bread prices at the existing level, the Sakhalin island will need 30 million rubles, but only 5 million rubles were allocated for the purpose. One hundred and twenty million is needed for milk, but only half as much was set aside. Thirty-one million rubles is necessary for sugar, while only 139,000 rubles was available.

The Sakhalin governor stressed he was and still is against the unlimited growth of prices. According to him, "Mr. Gaydar must apologize to the people for making a big mistake that has led the majority to poverty, and he should freeze prices."

Yakutia Approves Draft Treaty, Constitution

OW0702140292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1150 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The major result of the parliamentary session of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) ended on February 7 in Yakutsk was the deputies' refusal to approve a draft agreement between Russia and the Federation subjects, and their approval of an alternative text of the draft treaty on inter-state relations between Russia and Yakutia. The latter will be the main document of the republican delegation at the talks which began in Moscow on Friday [7 February], according to IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent from Yakutsk.

Besides, the deputies approved a new Constitution of the republic and the budget for the first quarter of 1992 with a deficit of 1 bln [billion] rubles.

Communists Union Created in Smolensk Oblast

LD0702214792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2230 GMT 6 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Sidorov]

[Text] Smolensk, 7 Feb (TASS)—"The Union of Communists"—this name has been given to a new party created in Smolensk Oblast. Its first constituent meeting was held in the House of Officers. Two hundred and thirty people took part in it.

The members of the party set themselves the task to defend the interests of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, and to struggle for the honor and well-being of the motherland.

Smirnov Elected Khakass Cabinet Chairman

LD0702221992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Yevgeniy Smirnov, 54 years old and former deputy chairman of Khakas's republican executive committee, became the first chairman of the Khakass Cabinet of Ministers. He was elected by people's deputies during an organizational session of the local Supreme Soviet. Tomorrow Smirnov intends to submit a new structure of government for discussion by the parliament.

Kemerovo Soviet Chairman Surrenders Powers

LD0802142192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today Aman Tuleyev, chairman of Kemerovo Oblast Soviet, surrendered his deputy's powers, and thus resigned. He said he disagreed with the economic policy of the Russian Government.

Komi Ready To Supply Estonia With Oil, Gas

LD0902000592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1317 GMT 8 Feb 92

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Tallinn—The Komi Republic has expressed a readiness to provide 10 thousand tons of gasoline, 10 thousand tons of diesel fuel and 15 thousand tons of black oil to the Estonian Republic in the first half of 1992, in exchange for Estonian tinned fish and butter. A corresponding economic agreement was signed on February 6 in Tallinn by representatives of the Estonian Ministry of Industry and the energy sector and the Komi Republic's information and business center. The volume of the agreement in world prices may be estimated at around U.S.4.7mln [million]. The agreement comes into effect after the two sides get their export licenses. On February 5 the Komi Republic's delegation in Tallinn, headed by the Republic's parliamentary chairman Yuriy Spiridonov, met with Estonian parliamentary leader Arnold Ruutel, Prime Minister Tiit Vahi and speaker of parliament Yulo Nugis.

Far East Fishermen Protest Income Tax

OW1202190692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1724 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] 3,000 fishermen from 135 boats of the Far Eastern Fishing Fleet have expressed their disapproval of the progressive income tax imposed on fisheries by the Russian Government. In a radio telegram to Moscow signed by chairman of the collective fisheries' strike committee Yuriy Zayarnov they say that they feel themselves deceived since the collective agreements concluded late last year do not even mention that tax.

The radio telegram says that if the government refuses to delay the introduction of the progressive income tax, the boats of the Far Eastern fisheries would stop fishing on February 21 and return to their port of registration.

The fishing colkhozes of the Far East catch one third of all fish caught in the country and up to 90% of rare species.

Miners Urged To Take Over Coal Distribution

PM1102141792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 92 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report under the "Newsbeat" rubric]

[Text] The Vorkuta Strike Committee has called on miners of all the coal pits of Russia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan to take over the distribution of the coal they extract themselves. An appeal disseminated by the committee indicates that miners should also participate in the distribution of metal produced with the aid of this coal and of energy resources. This would make it possible to ensure the delivery to the coal basins of means of production and consumer goods.

International Affairs

Further on Protest of Russia as Successor

LD1302111692 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] The Foreign Ministry of Ukraine has sent a note to the Foreign Ministry of Russia which says that Ukraine, in line with the generally accepted norms of international law, enjoys absolute rights and obligations. It is underlined in the note that the attempt of any state to declare itself as a single rightful successor of the USSR is illegal.

German Economics Minister Remarks on Talks

PM1202151792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 92 p 5

[I. Tikhomirov report: "Businesslike Handshake"]

[Text] FRG Economics Minister J. Moelleman has visited Moscow, Alma-Ata, and Kiev. In an interview given before his departure from the Ukrainian capital he gave a positive assessment of the results of his visit.

"We held very detailed and completely successful talks with Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk, Prime Minister V. Fokin, and many ministers and businessmen," he said.

"We agreed, in particular, to form a German-Ukrainian Council for Questions of Economic Cooperation, which will be composed of representatives not only of business, but also of politics. At the invitation of the Ukrainian Government we will be sending advisers on economic questions and the introduction of market relations as early as next year. A German economic mission will be opened in Kiev to promote the establishment of commercial links and the opening of German firms. The Ukraine has confirmed that it will fulfill all the former Soviet Union's obligations concerning protection of foreign capital investments. In February a multilateral conference will be held at which questions of debt payment are due to be examined. We have also agreed that a representative of the Ukraine will take part in the international conference on questions of economic collaboration to be held 8-9 May. Members of the 'G-7,' and also members of the countries of East Europe and several members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] will be represented there. And finally we were very grateful to receive news of the Ukraine's readiness to accept Soviet Germans, and we hope that things will be fine for them there."

Turkish Telecommunications Agreement Signed

LD1202192892 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Turkey and Ukraine have signed an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of telecommunications. A telecommunication network is planned to be created in our republic in the near future which would envisage the development of satellite and cable television, the introduction of modern telephone systems. [sentence as received]

National Affairs

Ministry 'Fully' Finances Armed Forces

LD1302141692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] The Ukraine Ministry of Finance is fully financing the armed forces deployed on the territory of the republic. In particular, the government allocated nearly 500 million rubles to the Black Sea Fleet in January. This has been stated by Colonel Shtapenko, head of the Ukraine Ministry of Defense Financial Directorate, in his comment on the statement made by the Russian leadership, to the effect that all Army units on CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] territory are being financed by Russia. He said that although money is being transferred, it is insufficient and is being allocated after the Ukraine has done so.

So far the Russian money has not been credited to the budget accounts and is deemed impossible to utilize.

Supreme Soviet Statement on Crimea Published

PM1202165792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

["Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Statement" dated 6 February, Kiev—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] IZVESTIYA (No. 27) published a Russian Federation Supreme Soviet resolution on the Crimea. The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has asked the newspaper to publish its reply statement.

On 23 January 1992 the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution in which it instructed Russian Federation Supreme Soviet committees together with the Russian Foreign Ministry to examine the question of the constitutionality of the 1954 decisions on the transfer of the Crimean Oblast from the RSFSR to the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and proposed that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet also examine this question.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet believes that these actions could destabilize the sociopolitical situation in the Ukraine and Russia.

The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet resolution of 23 January runs counter to Article 6 of the Treaty Between the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR of 19 November 1990, Article 5 of the communique on the talks between RSFSR and Ukrainian delegations with the participation of a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation of 29 August 1991, Article 5 of the Agreement on the Creation of the

Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] of 8 December 1991, and the Helsinki Final Act.

The history of our countries does not start in 1954, and the search for the truth in events of the past (particularly if it is a question of territorial problems) does not always lead to peace and concord or serve as a constructive road to the future. The Crimea became part of the Ukraine within the framework of the political and legal structures and the procedures and realities that existed in the former USSR at that time.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet confirms its adherence to the Helsinki agreements, particularly the principle of the inviolability of existing state borders, and rejects any territorial claims.

The Ukraine has no territorial claims on neighboring countries and hopes for a similar approach and support from all the Commonwealth states, particularly from the Russian Federation, which has traditionally been friendly toward us, in ensuring tranquillity for the population of the Crimea, which is an inalienable part of the Ukraine with the status of an autonomous republic enjoying full rights.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet shows its respect for the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, understands its problems in creating a sovereign state, and declares its readiness for mutually advantageous, equitable cooperation and for constructive talks on questions whose resolution will be to the good of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples and all the peoples of the CIS.

[Signed] Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Kiev, 6 February 1992

Background to Conflict Over Crimea Viewed

PM1202114592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Report by I. Osokin]

[Text] [Osokin] Crimea was originally inhabited by the Tatars. Russian troops conquered it at the end of the 18th century and the peninsula became part of Russia. In 1954 Krushchev gave it to the Ukraine to mark the 300th anniversary of the reunification of the Ukraine and Russia. But there is a new twist to this tale.

The Russian parliament has questioned the legality of the decision to transfer Crimea. Russian parliamentarians proposed that the Ukrainian parliament should also examine this issue. The answer was very harsh. Yesterday's parliamentary resolution says that Crimea is an inalienable part of the Ukraine. The resolution urges that the Helsinki agreements and the principle of the inviolability of existing borders be followed. The Supreme Soviet is reproaching Russian legislators for having committed actions that contravene previously signed treaties. The reproach looks serious; it is true that the agreements on the creation of the Commonwealth speak of the inviolability of existing borders. The Russian Supreme Soviet's decision on Crimea somehow does not really fit into this formula. But on the other hand it must be said that the Ukrainian leaders themselves are to a great extent responsible for the emergence of this issue by laying claim to the Black Sea Fleet. Furthermore, also in violation of agreements that have already been concluded, in the second half of January the Ukrainian General Staff again stated that the entire Black Sea Fleet must be considered as part of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. Then just after that a document appeared in the Russian Supreme Soviet, which the news agencies called Lukin's memorandum: Lukin is chairman of the parliamentary committee for international affairs. The document proposed that the disputes over Crimea be used to exert pressure on the Ukraine in order to make it renounce its claims to the Black Sea Fleet. And following that Russian legislators did in fact raise the issue of Crimea.

All this is like the principle of fighting fire with fire. But the price to pay for such an approach in politics may be high. If some people talk about Crimea, others might think that they have the right to raise the issue of other territories. You only need to set the ball rolling. From what the chiefs of the former Union geodesy administration say, they have recently come up against a sharp increase in the number of demands from various republics to be given all topographical maps with the borders as they were before they joined the Soviet Union. And maybe Russian politicians risk setting up a time bomb capable of destroying the Commonwealth, whose preservation they consider to be one of their main aims.

Shutdowns of Nuclear Power Stations Increase

LD1202233392 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Interruptions in the work of one of the most powerful nuclear power stations in Ukraine, the Zapoiozhye, have become more frequent. Defects have been revealed for the second time this month on the first power unit, and the fourth power unit has been shut down because of technical faults. The capacity of the fifth power unit has been lowered in order to remove defects.

[Word indistinct] has confirmed there were no ejections of radioactive substances into the atmosphere.

Legislation Seeks Higher Response to Draft

LD1102213892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1940 GMT 11 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Kiev—During the autumn call-up campaign to the Ukrainian Armed Forces, 3,751 draftees evaded the Army service. According to the information from the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, 10.5 thousand youth were released from the service for health reasons. In total, the

draft has summoned 4 percent less servicemen than required. According to officials from the general enlistment office of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, an ever increasing trend of the Ukrainian youth evading the call-up is due to insufficient educational background, lack of respective legal background for conducting a call-up campaign, emergence of pacifist tendencies, economic drawbacks and political instability in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. Officials from the Defense Ministry stress that the absolute majority of those evading the military service are the youth from large cities: Kiev, Kharkov, Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, Ternopol.

While commenting on the incidents of evading the call-up to the Ukrainian Armed Forces, Valentin Lemish, deputy chairman of the permanent commission of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on defense and state security, said: We believe that the number of refuseniks will drastically decrease in the near future, following the enactment of the law on alternate service and other laws, which would provide a procedural framework for the functioning of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. at present, our commission together with the experts from the Defense Ministry is drafting these laws. By late February—beginning of March—the entire package of the laws will be submitted to the Supreme Soviet for its approval.

Presidential Decree Sets Temporary Income Tax

AU1302122892 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 5 (51), Jan 92 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Income Tax"]

[Text] A temporary income tax has been set by Ukrainian presidential decree. Until the Ukrainian law "On the Taxation of Incomes of Enterprises and Organizations" is adopted, the decree resolves that enterprises and organizations that are under republican jurisdiction are to transfer to the republican budget advance payments of income taxes amounting to 35 percent of the total sum of income for the first quarter of 1992.

Official Discusses Economic Crimes Situation

AU1302112692 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 4 (50), Jan 92 p 6

[Interview with Valentyn Mykhaylovych Nedryhaylo, Ukrainian deputy minister of internal affairs, by Mykhaylo Berezovskyy; date not given: "The Black Market and 'Transparent' Borders"]

[Text] **The Ukrainian presidential decree "On Urgent Temporary Measures for Intensifying the Struggle Against Profiteering and Illegal Trading" has been in force since 19 December 1991. The need to adopt this document was obvious, and the people of the Ukraine perceived it in the light of their understanding of the situation that has arisen on the consumer market. What are, so far, the results of the action of this decree? This was the first question in my conversation with V.M. Nedryhaylo, deputy minister of internal affairs, major general of the Militia.**

[Nedryhaylo] Since the decree went into force, the militiamen have discovered more than 5,000 cases of infringement of the law in the sphere of the consumer market, including more than 1,700 incidents of profiteering, almost 1,000 cases of illegal trading, and 1,300 cases of trading in unauthorized places.

Goods worth over 1 million rubles [R] have been confiscated from the offenders. In the sphere of trade, 1,500 various violations of the law have been discovered, including more than 1,000 incidents of concealing and selling goods from storerooms and storehouses worth R1.6 million altogether.

For example, on 9 January 1992, militiamen of the Rivno Oblast Internal Affairs Administration discovered and confiscated 504 pieces of gold jewelry worth R411,000 and R178,000 in cash in storerooms and offices of the director and employees of the "Rubin" store of the "Ukryuvelirtorh" oblast retail association.

The Internal Affairs Administration of the town of Makiyivka in Donetsk oblast began legal proceedings against the electrician Petrushyn from mine No. 13/2. Despite having been previously prosecuted, he continued to buy and resell goods. After a search of the profiteer's apartment, goods worth more than R1 million were confiscated.

[Berezovskyy] Valentyn Mykhaylovych, during the period of transition to market relations, when prices have been freed, the selling or reselling of goods by citizens should, perhaps, no longer be considered a crime?

[Nedryhaylo] I would like to say that our ministry and local organs of internal affairs are approached by people who do not always give a correct legal assessment of the actions of those people who are engaged in reselling goods at higher prices, and not only at markets and in the streets, but also in cooperative and commission kiosks. These people put such actions in a single category: profiteering.

At the same time, in accordance with the law adopted on 25 June 1991 "On the Protection of the Consumer Market of the Ukraine," profiteering is defined as buying up goods or other articles that have been assigned fixed state prices from enterprises and trade organizations and reselling them for the purpose of obtaining easy profit.

It must be borne in mind here that only those articles can be objects of profiteering that are specified by the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, that is to say, those for which state regulation of prices is maintained. This applies to bread, sugar, milk, butter, sour cream, medicines, baby food, and a number of other commodities.

Our state's law "On Entrepreneurship" adopted on 7 February 1991 enables citizens to engage in many types

of activity, including trade, provided that they register this type of activity at the executive committee of the local council of people's deputies, receive a corresponding certificate, and pay taxes on the profit. That is to say, the law authorizes civilized entrepreneurship. However, many citizens do not fulfill this condition, conceal their income from the state, and, therefore, the organs of internal affairs make such "dealers" answerable for their administrative or criminal offenses.

[Berezovskyy] What is today the interaction between the organs of internal affairs and the Ukrainian Customs Committee with regard to controlling the procedure for exporting consumer goods and foodstuffs?

[Nedryhaylo] In order to implement the Ukrainian Presidential Decree and the resolution on putting an end to illegal exports of goods, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has created 486 stationary posts, field groups, and checkpoints that function on automobile highways, railroad stations, and in seaports. Over this time, more than 2,000 attempts to export, without license, goods by enterprises and 3,400 cases of exporting goods by the population have been thwarted. Thus, goods worth almost R562 million including 3,100 tonnes of sugar, 900 tonnes of meat, 313 tonnes of butter, and so on have been confiscated and returned for further sales to the population.

For example, in Donetsk oblast, an automobile was stopped that was carrying, without a license, 72 color television sets from the Dnipropetrovsk Production Association "Garant" to Georgia. In the same oblast, an automobile driven by R.M. Manukyan was detained that was carrying, without a license, 9.4 tonnes of zinc-coated sheet iron worth R17,200 from Dnipropetrovsk to Maykop [in the Caucasus].

[Berezovskyy] Valentyn Mykhaylovych, has everything been done by the internal affair organs with regard to the protection of the consumer market and the struggle against profiteering?

[Nedryhaylo] Of course, we have reserves in this work, but there remain no less numerous problems. For example, the government of the Ukraine promised to give us an additional 7,000 vacancies for protecting the consumer market, but so far we have received only 2,700. We are compelled to enlist the services of the people from the Criminal Investigation Division, State Automobile Inspectorate, and other workers whose main task is to combat crime.

Take transport. Today, at railroad stations situated at borders with neighboring republics, trains only stand between five and 10 minutes. It is impossible to check all the passengers or containers during this time.

In airports, we only check things that the passengers take with them, whereas the baggage goes past us. One can expect violations of the law anywhere. For example, our people at Boryspil airport recently detained a resident of Yerevan who was trying to export 720 kilograms of meat and who had given a bribe—R1,000—to an official dealing with the baggage.

[Berezovskyy] As we can see, the problems of protecting the consumer market are extremely complicated today and profiteering is quite extensive. Valentyn Mykhaylovych, can we at least hope that it will soon be reduced?

[Nedryhaylo] I believe that not only organs of internal affairs, but also other law-enforcement organs, customs services, and local authorities must deal more specifically with these questions. The present complicated situation on the consumer market is a result of our defective economy, and economic measures must be taken to correct it. At the same time, the law on the punishment for profiteering and illegal trade must function more effectively. A profiteer or an entrepreneur who carries out illegal operations must not go unpunished. We will, therefore, do everything we can to ensure the fulfillment of the regulations and rules specified by the law.

Air Traffic Controllers Plan 14 Feb Strike

PM1302135592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Tsikora: "Will L. Kravchuk's Aircraft Fly to Minsk?"]

[Text] Kiev—A situation which has cast doubt on whether the Ukrainian president's aircraft will fly to Minsk, where the meeting of heads of state of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] is scheduled for 14 February, has taken shape in Kiev. The point is that a strike by the republic's air traffic controllers is scheduled for that day.

They are demanding the creation of a committee for the use of air space and the servicing of air traffic under the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers. With the creation of this organ the Ukrainian sky will have a single master. That will enable the republic to receive every year a minimum of $5 million just for air navigation services for the aircraft of foreign airlines flying to the Ukraine or over its territory to other CIS cities. So far currency is going to the Moscow international accounts center, from which part of this money is returned to Kiev, but not in freely convertible currency but in "wooden rubles," at an exchange rate of 1.80 rubles a dollar.

This is not the first time the republican newspapers have raised the question. According to journalists' reports the air traffic controllers have already appealed to the republic's leadership. On instructions from the government the relevant documents were elaborated. But for the third month now they have not been handed over for examination by the Ukrainian cabinet of ministers, since the drafters are quite unable to coordinate their draft with the leadership of the Ukrainian civil aviation association.

Failing to find a common language with the association, the air traffic controllers turned to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, president, and prime minister for support. They backed up the resolve of their actions with the announcement of a prestrike state as of 10 February. Unless the questions they have raised are examined, the appeal says, as of 0000 hours 14 February the air traffic controllers announce a strike "consisting of the suspension of the implementation of air traffic control in the air space of Ukraine and international air space apart from backing up flights with urgent medical missions, those transporting children who suffered from the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station, and the elimination of natural disasters."

As we can see, the president's aircraft is no exception. Will L. Kravchuk have to travel to Moscow by train?

Fuel Shortages Hit Donbass; Strike Threatened

PM1202145792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Announcer-read report]

[Excerpt] Tens of thousands of workers failed to arrive at their enterprises today. The mines may come to a standstill since there is no possibility of bringing the miners in from settlements that are scattered over distances of dozens of kilometers. Altogether 70 percent of vehicles in the Donbass are at a standstill. Deliveries of gasoline and diesel fuel to the oblast have been suspended. The Lisichansk oil refinery and others in the Ukraine are not operating. Alarmed by the enforced idleness and the disastrous situation, at rallies and meetings Donbass drivers have drawn up a demand to the Ukrainian Government that it ensure normal supplies of gasoline and spare parts, raise pay, and strengthen social protection. If these demands are not met, the drivers will strike. The lack of petroleum products has already led to interruptions in the supply of basic necessities. Remote cities and settlements have simply been cut off from the center. Boilers operating on diesel fuel and many poultry farms have also come to a standstill. Residential areas, and mining, medical, and children's institutions have been left without heat. Electric power stations working on fuel oil have less than 24 hours' supply left. [passage omitted]

Donetsk Miners Lack Pit Props, Equipment

PM1102142392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 7 Feb 92

[By V. Vinogradov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We are here in a mine working at a depth of more than 600 meters. As you can see, there are no pit props here. There simply aren't any. Everyone is expecting miners to produce coal. But while politicians argue, miners are having to make do not only without pit props but also without equipment. They even have to walk to the coal face, because the transporter is out of action, and that means walking hundreds of meters underground where the total length of mine workings exceeds 250 km extending underneath the whole city of Donetsk.

Everything is changing, everything is in a state of flux. However, at the Gorkiy Mine the same old coal-mining combines have been patched up for decades. Seventy percent of the spare parts for these combines used to come from Russia. The supply has now dried up altogether.

We saw plenty of metal at the mine, but mostly in the form of scrap. Meanwhile miners are having to revert to practices used by their grandfathers.

Largest Shipyard Faces 'Difficult Situation'

LD1202234592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] In Nikolayev, Ukraine's largest shipyard is in a difficult situation following the collapse of the Union. Its work force has been left on its own with the incomplete aircraft carrying cruiser Varyag and other defense orders. The conversion problem is made more difficult by the fact that the berth on which commercial ships could be built is occupied. Due to a lack of money from both the Russian and Ukrainian Governments, fulfilling defense orders is being suspended for an indefinite period, an UKRINFORM correspondent was told by Ivan (?Vinnik), deputy general director of the association. The ships are to be mothballed, but considerable funds are needed even for this. A commission at the Ukrainian Government level has been set up to examine the association's state of affairs.

Rukh Activists Disrupt Lvov Demonstration

PM1102140592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 92 p 2

[S. Romanyuk report: "Pan Petrik Does Not Like Communists"]

[Text] Some Lvov deputies have significantly deepened local notions of democracy. Last Sunday the socialists' city party cell intended to hold a meeting in defense of the working people's social rights. The people, who had been pining for mass open-air events, intended, if not to agree with, at least to listen to an alternative opinion to the current dominant ideology of universal statehood. But nothing of the sort took place. The former Communists were unable even to approach the place where the legitimate authorities had legitimately authorized their political antics. A group of Rukh activists under the ideological leadership of oblast council deputy Pan Petrik occupied the square and allowed none of the opponents near the microphone.

The radically minded speakers once again blamed the Communists for every disaster under the sun, and read out lists of people who at one time or another belonged

to the CPSU, demanding their immediate dismissal from work. Some local newspapers incautiously described this spectacle as "McCarthyism Lvov-style." As if they would not have to answer for these words to Pan Petrik.

Ecological Study Planned for Donbass

LD1102223792 Moscow TASS in English 0802 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent for ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Kiev February 11 TASS—The Ukrainian Ministry of Environment and the Academy of Sciences will jointly undertake a complex study of the ecological situation of Donbass. Assessing the level of pollution of the environment, the scientists will, in particular, make additional recommendations to protect subsoil waters and reestimate their reserves.

These measures have been provided for in accordance with the Ukrainian cabinet's resolution, in which special attention is paid to the worst affected zones from the ecological point of view, such as Lisichansko-Rubezhanski industrial area and the Slavyansk city of Donetsk Province. In the coming four years more purification istallations, circulatory water supply, utilisation of industrial gutter and degassing systems will be reconstructed, broadened and installed. A provision for technical reequipement of the automatical control system on the Severski Donets River is also made.

Those works will be carried out on the funds of chemical establishements, and received from their exports and barter operations. Under the resolution, certain environmental protection facilities will be included in the government order while preparing programme of capital construction.

Belarus

Kebich Says Republic 'Must Have Its Own Army'

LD1302002192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1917 GMT 12 Feb 92

["Belarus Leader: A Strong State Must Have Nuclear Weapons. No One Will Condescend To Speak to a Nuclear-Free State"; from the "Military News" section—POSTFACTUM headline]

[Text] Minsk, 12 Feb—Addressing on February 11 the officers and warrant officers of the Rogochevskiy motor infantry division stationed in Uruchiye near Minsk, Belarus Council of Ministers Chairman Vyacheslav Kebich also promised them reliable social protection and pensions.

The republic must have its own army and the Belarussian Military District property with the exception of the strategic forces, belongs to Belarus, Kebich said. According to him, the republican government believes that the Belarus army, after reductions, should not be more than 80,000-strong. A reduction of one division annually is planned, Kebich said, as more intensive reductions are too expensive.

The Council of Ministers chairman also stated the government's intention to stop a blanket conversion and give an all-round support to the military-industrial complex enterprises. At present the republic will not survive without selling military equipment, Kebich argued.

Removal of Nuclear Arms Point of Contention

LD1302050492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2045 GMT 12 Feb 92

["Belarus Unhappy With the Way Nuclear Arms Are Removed"; from the "Military News" section—POSTFACTUM headline]

[Text] Minsk—According to a people's deputy of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic is not against removal of nuclear arms from its territory, but is not content that this is done without its knowledge.

As Colonel Valeriy Pavlov, people's deputy of the Republic of Belarus, told PF [POSTFACTUM], Belarus would adhere to the declared principle of being a non-nuclear state, but would not hurry up removal of nuclear arms from its territory, as its opinion had ceased to be taken into consideration. In particular, he noted, that removal of tactical nuclear arms from its territory was carried out without its knowledge and without any agreement with the Republic of Belarus.

We are not going to threaten anybody, Pavlov said, but we are responsible for the nuclear arms which were situated on our territory, whereas its removal is carried out in such a way that we don't even know what, where and in what quantities was carried away. Moreover, under the guise of removal of nuclear arms from the territory of Belarus, building materials and other property is being taken away to Russia. According to the order of the government, militia posts were strengthened in the roads of Belarus.

Minister Says Conflict With Russia 'Impossible'

LD1302042992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2358 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—A military conflict between Belarus and Russia is impossible. That is the view of Petr Chaus, acting defense minister of the Republic of Belarus. He expressed it in an interview published in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA today. "Belarus has never had conflicts with Russia which could not be resolved by political means," he noted.

Replying to a question on whether Belarus intends to claim the property of the Armed Forces of the former USSR—first of all of the Fleet, which is outside its national territory—Petr Chaus said that "we do not intend to initiate a process of dividing up the navy, and we think that it should be part of the united strategic forces." "If, however, it does come to dividing up the property of the navy, the Republic of Belarus expects to receive its share," he stressed.

According to Petr Chaus, the Belarussian army will have the following types of armed forces: ground forces, air forces, and air defense. Initially, it will have a strength of 80,000-90,000 people, he said.

Application for IMF Membership Announced

LD1102204392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1942 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Barsukov]

[Text] Washington, 11 Feb. (TASS)—The Republic of Belarus has applied for entry to the International Monetary Fund. This is announced in an IMF press release circulated here today. In accordance with existing procedures, Belarus's application will first be considered by the Fund's executive directorate, which will then forward its recommendations to the IMF's council of adminstrators.

4.3 Percent of Union Debt To Be Undertaken

OW0502162992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Belarus is undertaking to pay 4.3 per cent of the total debt of the former Soviet Union, Prime Minister of Belarus, Vyacheslav Kebich, said at a meeting with his voters in the Brest region on Tuesday [4 February]. According to Kebich, Belarus will most likely pay the Union's debt to Austria.

Observers believe the payment will be made not in hard currency but by various commodities and raw materials, such as potash salt.

More on Developments Prior to Soligorsk Strike

LD1202222292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1948 GMT 11 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Soligorsk miners went on continuous strike on February 11 demanding to conclude a general tariff agreement envisaging payment of wages partially in hard currency. This was reported to PF [POSTFACTUM] by Ivan Yurgevich, chairman of the Independent Trade Union of Belarus Miners. Aleksandr Kurenkov, chairman of the Belarus State Committee for Industry, who arrived to Soligorsk on February 10 with the aim of preventing the strike, said at his meeting with miners: There is no legislative foundation for adopting such a decision in Belarus. According to Yurgevich, the first and fourth coal-pits are on strike, the third one—doesn't operate partially. As to the second one, there is no information whatsoever.

China Visit Concludes Sugar, Grain Deals

PM1202143992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Mikhayl Shimanskiy: "China Guarantees Sweet Life for Belarus"]

[Text] Minsk—In view of the fact that Belarus has ceased to receive sugar from the Ukraine, it is going to buy 200 [illegible] tonnes in China.

This accord was reached during a visit to China by a Belarussian Government delegation, Prime Minister V. Kebich has announced. Belarus is the first independent state of the Commonwealth of Independent States to have sent a government delegation to visit China before the official establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. That agreement was signed in Beijing during the visit.

In Beijing an accord of benefit to Belarus on the barter sale of grain to it was also reached. In exchange China will receive heavy trucks and potash fertilizer.

The Chinese intend to open stores in Minsk where Chinese goods will be sold for rubles and foreign currency. If they find an adequate sales market in Belarus they will go even further—some of the profit will be reinvested in opening new stores and small service and public catering enterprises.

This year relations between Belarus and China are being defined at ambassador level. Admittedly, as V. Kebich said, this does not mean that Belarus is going to open an embassy in China. It believes that the republic's interests in the PRC can be properly represented by the present Embassy of the Russian Federation.

Ministers Adopt Resolution on Meat Prices

LD1202114292 Minsk Radio Minsk International Service in Belarussian 2230 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] The Belarus Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on retail prices on meat and meat products. From the beginning of February we will have to pay 46-60 rubles [R] for 1 kg of beef, R48-R53 for pork, R40 for poultry, and R55 for boiled sausages.

As Nikolay Shendarau, deputy head of the Price Directorate at the State Economic Planning Committee, stressed in his commentary to the government resolution, "we all have to part with the illusion of cheap food during the switch to the market way of management. Only an equal commodity exchange between the town and the village will allow us to revive the agriculture which is a basis of well-being of a nation. A circle has now formed. Because of the rise in prices on industrial produce for the countryside, the sums of subsidies from the budget for foodstuffs have increased incredibly. Thus the retail price for meat in January was nine times lower than the costs of its production. As a result the subsidies from the budget during just one month have made up almost R2.5 billion. Nevertheless, the new resolution does not mean the government has adopted totally unsubsidized market prices. As far as possible it tries to soften the influence of prices in worsening living standards of the people."

Moldova

Baker Visit Concludes; Results Summarized

LD1102160192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1510 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev, 11 Feb (TASS)—Summing up the results of his visit to Moldova at a news conference today, James Baker, U.S. Secretary of State, voiced satisfaction at his talks with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur and other leaders of the republic. He particularly noted Moldova's agreement to observe human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities and to follow the principle of the peaceful settlement of conflicts. The United States, in Baker's words, intends to support Moldova's entry into the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund.

Talking about the prospects for establishing diplomatic relations between the two states and the opening of a U.S. embassy in Kishinev, Baker stressed that this issue is to be discussed during President Mircea Snegur's forthcoming visit to the United States. He noted that the problems of the Dnestr and Gagauz regions are not an obstacle to this, in light of the explanations he received during the talks.

Answering a question about the U.S. attitude to the possible unification of Romania and Moldova, James Baker stressed that "this is a problem for Moldova and Romania, not the United States, to decide".

In his statement for the press Mircea Snegur stressed that he regards the visit by James Baker as support for the steps being taken here with the aim of setting up a law-governed democratic state. He said: The republic leadership examined five principles set out in a message from the U.S. President which should be observed by the former Union republics if they wish to establish diplomatic relations with the United States. Moldova pledges to observe them and it intends to respect human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities, to resolve all problems by peaceful means, to respect borders, and to abide by the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United Nations Organization.

Speaking about the prospects for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States, Mircea Snegur stressed that both sides are ready to implement this in the near future, and he voiced the hope that this issue will be discussed at his meeting with President George Bush which could take place during his visit to the United States next week. During his tour, the Moldovan president is to take part in the work of the session of the UN General Assembly, which is to accept Moldova into that organization.

This afternoon James Baker left for Yerevan.

Snegur Rejects 'Federalization' of Republic

LD1102153292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] President of Moldova Mircea Snegur has stated that a political settlement of the problems of the Dnestr region and Gagauzia is the only possibility after Moldova has been recognized by more than 90 of the world's states. Speaking at an expanded session of the collegium of the procuracy, he rejected the idea of the federalization of Moldova as proposed by the leaders of the unrecognized republics.

Russia To Help Cope With Energy Problems

OW1102183992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's Premier Valeriu Muravschi told journalists in Kishinev on Monday [10 February] that Russia intends to supply to Moldova in 1992 over 3 million tons [as received] of oil via the oil refinery at Moryl, Belarus.

He said Moldova will finance Russia's oil industry in order to be entitled to some of the latter's shares, and to ensure the regular flow of oil products into the republic. Moldovan construction workers will take part in building the infrastructure of Russia's oil-producing regions, such as Tyusen.

Muravschi Says No Financing for Armed Forces

OW1102182692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his TV address to the people on Monday [10 February], Premier Valeriu Muravschi said Moldova will not take part in financing the Commonwealth Armed Forces.

He said the republic would only take on the maintenance of those ex-Soviet Army units that agreed to shift to its jurisdiction. An agreement to that effect had been reached between representatives of the Moldovan State Military Department (transformed into the Defense Ministry a few days ago) and Col.-Gen. Pyankov, deputy commander of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, M. Snegur said.

The future of the 14th Army, stationed mainly in the Dnestr area, will be decided through talks between the Moldovan leadership and the CIS Armed Forces command, M. Snegur said.

Return of Military Hardware Demanded

LD1202180192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1550 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 12 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The Moldovan parliament today demanded the return to the republic of armaments and military hardware belonging to the Soviet Army which has been transported out of the Republic's territory in contravention of a 14 November 1991 decree by the Moldovan president. This decision was adopted on the eve of a summit of the sovereign independent states in Minsk, set for 14 February. Deputies believe that the secret and illegal removal of military property nullifies the Minsk Accords on the right of the sovereign states to create their own armed forces on the basis of Soviet Army military units and is a gross violation of accords already reached.

Unions Accuse Cabinet of Disregarding Demands

OW1202134492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1055 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Council of Federations of the Independent Moldovan Trade Unions has sent the Moldovan premier a message accusing the Cabinet of "unwillingness to hold negotiations with the unions and disregard for their demands."

The message says that the economic situation in Moldova has deteriorated to a point beyond which "full economic collapse" is looming. It urges the government to take emergency measures to improve the republic's economic performance.

The trade unions insist that the Cabinet should immediately proceed to get action on the existing intergovernmental agreements on raw material, equipment and fuel supplies, raise the people's incomes, establish profit tax at no higher than 30%, and enter into negotiations with the unions.

Republic To Establish Hard Currency Reserve

OW1202162192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Mircea Snegur has passed a decree on the procedure of forming up Moldova's hard-currency reserve in 1992.

According to it, beginning January 1 [date as received], all enterprises located or registered in the Republic of Moldova, irrespective of their property status, shall transfer 50 percent of their hard-currency receipts to the National Bank of Moldova. The decree does not apply to joint ventures with the share of foreign capital standing at or exceeding 30 percent and worth more than $250 million. The legal entities involved in broker operations shall transfer 60 per cent of their hard-currency receipts to the Bank of Moldova. The hard currency thus received shall be used for foreign-debt repayment and for shaping Moldova's hard-currency reserve.

The rates of compulsory hard-currency deductions shall apply to operations involving all goods and services payable in hard currency, irrespective of the ways they are performed or the nature of the deals.

The compulsory hard-currency tax shall not include either the cost of transportation, insurance and delivery of goods abroad, or the cost of the imported items indispensable for the production of goods to be exported.

The hard-currency donations sent to the public, charity or religious organizations shall be tax-exempt.

Editors Appeal to Government on Press' Plight

PM1202133392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 92 p 1

[Untitled report from PRAVDA, ITAR, TASS, and URAL-AKTSEPT roundup]

[Text] Participants in a meeting of chief editors representing more than 50 republic and rayon publications have appealed to the Moldovan Government demanding that it immediately devise a state program to protect the periodical press and journalists for the period of transition to a market economy. If the demands are not met, the appeal's authors reserve the right to call the republic's journalists out on strike.

Poll Indicates High Approval Rating for Snegur

OW1102182492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A poll carried out by the Sociological Studies Department of the Moldovan Interior Ministry has shown that 80% of the respondents approve of Mircea Snegur's presidential performance. The republican parliament and government are supported by 48%.

All the 1,360 respondents expressed concern over the socio-political situation in Moldova: 65% said they were alarmed by the recent price hikes, 55% by the food shortages, 54% by the low pay, 40% by the shortages of industrial goods, and 27% by the mounting crime rates.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev on Ties With Afghanistan

OW1202132792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1055 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Meeting on Tuesday [11 Febraury] with the visiting Afghan Vice-President 'Abdorrahim Hatef, President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan expressed his republic's readiness to supply a certain amount of grain to Afghanistan.

During the talks that largely concerned trade and economic matters, the Afghan official also requested energy assistance from Kazakhstan and asked to continue the practice of training Afghan specialists in Kazakh colleges and universities.

Nazarbayev said that considerable food shortages resulting from last year's drought would not prevent Kazakhstan from promoting economic, trade and cultural cooperation with Afghanistan, although "we will be building our relations with due regard for today's realities."

Until recently, Kazakhstan accounted for up to 20% of Soviet assistance to Afghanistan.

On Wednesday [12 February], the two countries' leaders signed a treaty on the establishment of diplomatic relations at embassy level.

U.S. Food, Medical Supplies Arrive in Alma-Ata

LD1302213692 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0000 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] One must admit it was surprising to see U.S. servicemen and visitors from Commonwealth countries, previously on opposing sides, passing food parcels from hand to hand in such a comradely manner. A cargo of around 20 tonnes arrived yesterday destined for medical establishments in Alma-Ata and the capital's oblast.

This fact was stressed by William Cotter, U.S. temporary charge d'affaires in Kazakhstan, when he commented on the landing at the capital's airport of the first aircraft from Frankfurt carrying U.S. humanitarian aid. Although this is a modest gift, it marks the beginning of relations of a completely new kind between our countries. The United States is interested in the further development of these good relations and in the success of the economic reforms being pursued in Kazakhstan which assist its entry into the open system of international trade and the strengthening of social stability and democracy right in the center of Asia. In reply, Kazakhstan Health Minister Amanbayev gave warm thanks for the aid.

Meanwhile, vehicles carrying protein rich foods had already set off for medical establishments around the town and oblast. By the end of the month, several more aircraft from the U.S. carrying food and medical supplies are expected.

Servicemen Serving Outside CIS Recalled

PM1102105992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Feb 92 p 3

[Colonel A. Ladin report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Kazakh Servicemen Will Not Serve in 'Hot Spots' or Outside CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—The Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet resolution of 18 January 1992 "On Banning Servicemen Who Are Kazakhstan Republic Citizens From Participating in the Resolution of Interethnic Conflicts" was published in the republic press 4 February. The document says that the worsening interethnic conflicts on the territory of the former USSR and the use of Armed Forces and Border Guards personnel mean that Kazakh servicemen are being killed and maimed. The republic's Supreme Soviet has resolved to prohibit servicemen who are Kazakhstan citizens from being sent to take part in the resolution of interethnic conflicts and has told the Kazakh president to coordinate the question of Kazakh servicemen performing military service on Commonwealth states' territory in the future.

The Kazakhstan State Defense Committee is to recall Kazakh servicemen on compulsory service from military units and institutions located on the territories of states outside the CIS within one month.

Nazarbayev Begins Appointing Oblast Governors

LD1102154192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Kazakh President Nazarbayev has begun appointing governors in the oblasts. According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, in many cases former chairmen or deputy chairmen of oblast soviets have been appointed to governors' posts, which has given rise to differing reactions among the population. Local political commentators believe that the hard political line chosen by President Nazarbayev will stop the process of disintegration in the republic. It is also anticipated that a bicameral parliament will be created this year, which will be able to streamline legislative power.

Appoints Karaganda, Chimkent Governors

PM1102103792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 92 p 1

[V. Komarov report: "Communist Ideals Pass Into History"]

[Text] Nursultan Nazarbayev made the first appointments of oblast administration chiefs yesterday. So far, the governors of two oblasts—Chimkent and Karaganda—have been named. Petr Nefedov, director

of the mine named for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, became deputy to the president in Karaganda.

These appointments have won President Nazarbayev a great deal of support from the people of Karaganda. The most important thing is that the governor was not appointed by Ideal Musalimov, the self-styled oblast soviet chairman who has surrounded himself with dubious personalities.

For the people of Karaganda, the figure of Musalimov is associated with the scandalous "nest of gentlefolk" where, amidst the oblast chiefs' smart cottages, the chairman's private residence soars above a backdrop of universal poverty and endless waiting lines for accommodation. With, of course, two official "GAZ-31" vehicles—black, and with intimidating zeros on the license plates.

For almost a year, mine leaders and progressive deputies have called for his resignation. Now, as they say, with one stroke of the pen ...

Thus, Soviet power in Kazakhstan is coming to an end, and presidential power is moving in.

Decrees New Ministerial Appointments

LD0902220592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] A rearrangement of forces has taken place within the Kazakh Government. In accordance with a decree signed yesterday, the president has appointed Oleg Soskovets as first deputy prime minister and minister of industry. The latter is known for his work in Azovstal [Azovsteel] and the Karaganda metallurgical combine. The president also appointed Daulet Symbyev as first deputy prime minister.

In the opinion of experts, the new appointments have come about as a result of the president's desire to establish a strict order in the economy and administration, to halt the decline in production, and to ensure the least painful transition to market [illegible]. This was reported by the AZIYA Press Agency.

Nazarbayev Said To Eye Rail Link With Iran

PM1302112592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1545 GMT 7 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Ostankino] Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev is thinking about a major project, according to the German newspaper DIE WELT—the construction of a more than 4,000-km railroad from Alma-Ata, via Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, to the Iranian city of Mashhad. The newspaper notes that investments running into billions will be required for this, which can come only from the West, the Arab oil states, and Japan. However, Western financiers are not likely to part with their money while Iran's Islamic leaders are intent on exporting their revolution.

In this context it is interesting that Pakistani officials have also expressed readiness to assist Central Asian states in constructing a railroad leading south via Afghanistan. However, for this it is necessary first to reach agreement with the Afghan Government. Meanwhile it is not yet clear what shape this government will take.

Crude Oil Supplies Securing Credits From Oman

OW0802025192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1312 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] According to IF's [INTERFAX] sources, the Sultanate of Oman intends to give Kazakhstan a credit of $100 m [million] on the security of raw oil supplies from Kazakhstan to third countries with Oman's mediation.

The Kazakh Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations has informed IF [INTERFAX] that Kazakhstan and the Russian concern ROSNEFTEGAZ agreed to transport oil from western Kazakhstan to the European part of Russia, wherefrom Oman's specialists will forward it to Eastern Europe, notably to Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.

Preliminary talks on the matter were held in Alma-Ata in late January. A feasibility study of the project had been made by a group of American experts.

Kazakh oil supplies are due to begin after February 10.

President Nursultan Nazarbayev has urged the government to use Oman's credits to purchase food and fodder grain for the republic.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Makes Changes to Cabinet of Ministers

LD1202224492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2200 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev has made substantial changes to the structure of the republic's Cabinet of Ministers. Addressing the new composition of the government, he stressed that the step was marked by the imminent need to strengthen executive power at all levels and to define a precise system of priorities that would help the republic to emerge from the economic crisis. For that purpose, it was necessary to have a minimum quantity of goods, especially food, to ensure full employment and to start to effectively develop the training and retraining of personnel, and, primarily, of young people. The new government structure proposed by President Akayev will be considered by the republican parliament in the second half of February.

U.S. Aid Shipment Arrives in Bishkek

LD1002180792 Moscow TASS in English 1033 GMT 10 Feb 92

[By Kyrgyzstan-TASS correspondent Albert Borganov]

[Text] Bishkek February 10 TASS—An aircraft of the U.S. Air Forces loaded with medicine for the Republic of Kyrgyzstan landed at Manas Airport on Monday [10 February].

Humanitarian aid of the international community is most welcome as stocks of medicine in this highland republic have actually been depleted. Hospitals lack essential medicines. Meanwhile tuberculosis, flu, and other infectious diseases have of late become more widespread, particularly among children and old people. A considerable part of the cargo will be distributed in children's hospitals, invalids' homes and old people's homes.

Kyrgyzstan will receive almost 45 million dollars worth of medicine and food. It will also be given assistance in housing construction and will be supplied with energy sources and the latest technologies.

A public commission was formed under a decree of the Kyrgyz Cabinet of Ministers to ensure that all these medicines reach the people who need them. The commission includes specialists from the Red Cross society, from invalids' societies and societies of the blind and deaf. Together with members of the republic's cabinet and staffers of the U.S. Embassy, they were in the airport to see the load of humanitarian aid arrive. The distribution of medicine will begin at once without delays under the observance of U.S. Representatives.

Akayev on Currency To Avert 'Catastrophe'

LD1002065392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Until Kyrgyzstan has its own currency, the republic will not be able to stabilize prices. This was said by President Askar Akayev in a speech to agricultural workers. He declared: We must take under control prices for essential foodstuffs, such as bread, flour, meat, milk and butter. Otherwise a catastrophe is imminent.

President Addresses Agricultural Officials

LD0902102592 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] There has been a meeting in Bishkek of many of the leaders of Kyrgyzstan's agroindustrial complex. President Akayev drew the leaders' attention to the need to speed up the privatization of loss-making collective and state farms. He said peasant farmers were not being allocated plots in some districts. The question of equipment and other supplies is not being tackled. Measures to prepare for the spring sowing were also outlined.

Official on Hydroelectricity Development

LD0802151692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 6 Feb 92

[From "News From the Commonwealth Countries" program]

[Text] In Kyrgyzstan a national program for the republic's energy independence up to 2010 has been drawn up. Tumberdiyev, the president of the republican energy company, reported this. According to him, the program is based on acceleration of the development of hydroelectric power production.

Under conditions where Kyrgyzstan's economy depends on imports of oil and gas, coal, fuel oil, and other energy-bearing products from other countries in the Commonwealth, the republic is studying the variant of building a hydroelectric power station. It is proposed that foreign investment be attracted.

The American corporation General Electric, the National Energy Commpany of Norway, and a number of others have shown interest in cooperating with Kyrgyzstan.

Tajikistan

President Views Policy Before Baker Visit

LD1902112692 Moscow TASS in English 1057 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By TAJIKTA correspondent Muhiddin Umarov]

[Text] Dushanbe February 13 TASS—Sovereign Tajikistan intends to pursue the policy of neutrality in its foreign relations, according to republican President Rakhman Nabiyev.

"We can cooperate with all countries of the world without stressing our adherence either to the West or to any other group of countries", he said in an interview with the republican "SADOI MARDUM" (VOICE OF THE PEOPLE) newspaper on Thursday [13 February].

"Naturally, we have to strengthen ties with the Commonwealth states first, but we stand for good relations with other neighbours—Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, China, India, Nabiyev said.

Membership in the European Community would allow Tajikistan to develop membership in the Organization of Economic Cooperation, uniting Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, also opens great prospects for the republic, the president believes.

Tajikistan was the first among the former Soviet Central Asian republics to establish contacts with the United States. U.S. experts are now helping to develop the underground riches of the republic, its energy resources and have created a number of joint ventures.

"We hope the visit of (U.S. Secretary of State) James Baker to Tajikistan will help find ways for a broader cooperation", Nabiyev said.

Baker is arriving in Dushanbe on Thursday [13 February].

Baker, Nabiyev Outline Talk Results

LD1302125592 Moscow TASS in English 1224 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By TAJIKTA correspondent aleksandr Nemirovskiy]

[Text] Dushanbe February 13 TASS—At a meeting with journalists after his talks with President Rakhman Nabiyev of Tajikistan today, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said the two discussed the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations between the United States and Tajikistan.

He expressed satisfaction with Nabiyev's assurances about commitment to democracy, the desire to develop a market economy and respect the rights of national minorities. These are the basic conditions on which the United States is prepared to open its embassy in Dushanbe.

For his part, Nabiyev also evaluated positively the results of the talks. He dismissed speculation about Tajikistan's intentions to sell uranium to other countries, emphasising that his republic "scrupulously abides by the policy of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and their components."

Upon the completion of talks in Dushanbe, Baker will travel to Uzbekistan.

Nabiyev Sends Telegram to Iran's President

LD1102153392 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1100 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Text] Tajik President Rakhman Nabiyev has sent a telegram to His Eminence Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which says:

Your Eminence, it is with great pleasure that I send my message to your excellency and through you to the fraternal people of Iran to express my best wishes and congratulations on the occasion of the national festival of Iran, Revolution Day. We in Tajikistan, having a common culture, language, customs, tradition, and history with the people of Iran, are watching with special interest the life of the brother nation of Iran and its achievements following the victory of the 11 February revolution. In Tajikistan, following state independence, all favorable conditions have been created for the expansion and development of relations in all aspects of life for our peoples.

The trend which has begun—following the signing in Dushanbe of the declaration on fundamental principles and objectives of cooperation between Tajikistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran for the realization of the centuries-old hopes and wishes of our nation—assures us of the expansion and development of cooperation in the interests of our fraternal peoples.

Once again I congratulate you on the occasion of this great day in the history of the Islamic Republic of Iran and renew my sincere regards to your excellency.

Accepts Invitation To Visit Iran

LD1202224992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0531 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Dushanbe, 12 Feb (TASS)—Tajikistan President Rakhman Nabiyev has accepted an invitation from 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, head of the Islamic Republic of Iran, to make an official visit to that country. This was stated in a conversation with 'Ala'eddin Borujerdi, deputy foreign minister and personal representative of the Iranian president, who conveyed to R. Nabiyev a message from the Iranian leader.

U.S. Humanitarian Aid Arrives in Dushanbe

LD1002184292 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 10 Feb 92

[By TAJIKTA-TASS correspondent Salokhiddin Ergashev]

[Text] Dushanbe February 10 TASS—Forty tons of food products as part of humanitarian aid to the people of Tajikistan were delivered by a U.S. air liner to the Dushanbe airport.

The food products will be distributed among the children's medical institutions and houses for the aged persons under the control of a group of people's deputies and a representative of the U.S. State Department, Deborah Prindle. A military and transport aircraft will deliver another planeload of food products to the Tajik people in a couple of days.

Nabiyev Urges National Unity on Feb Tragedy

LD1202172792 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1800 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Speech by Tajikistan President Rakhman Nabiyev on anniversary of February events of 1990; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Loving mothers and fathers, dear sisters, brothers, sons, and daughters. Tomorrow, 12 February, is remembrance day for the martyrs of the bloody February events of 1990. On the anniversary eve of this most dreadful page in the history of our people, I appeal to you and hope that such a black day will never again befall our people. [passage omitted]

Two years have elapsed since those horrific days. However, talks, discussions, and analysis continue regarding those events. The February events, in my opinion, were

a manifestation of seeking justice, of which we have unfortunately still not correctly understood their nature. I honestly wish that we do not knowingly or unknowingly discuss those events, or wittingly or unwittingly lay blame on every one. The issue at stake is the fate of human beings. I have instructed the republican procurator to study this issue profoundly to enable us to separate hair from the dough and to tell the truth without fear. Otherwise, the search for truth will (?lead) to emotions and instead of finding the truth we will engage in searching enemies. This is a dangerous path, evidence to which is history. We have experienced such (?things) in the 1930's and 1950's. Therefore, for this reason alone, the anniversary of the February events of 1990 obliges us to act wisely and to name the guilty and not guilty in accordance with the truth.

Today, what is necessary is not to seek the enemy but to seek ways leading to national unity. For centuries our people were hoping to build their own independent state. Finally, today such a Tajik state has come into existence. At present our state resembles a child, who without learning to walk is expected to (?run).

All of us have one intention. Our intention is clear. We all wholeheartedly want to see Tajik people and all the population of Tajikistan live prosperous, free, and with equality of rights. We want to see Tajikistan prosper, we do not want to see our republic looked down upon by others. We want to utilize not only our own possibilities but investment, technology, and experience of other states to fulfill our hopes. For this, time is needed more than any other thing. The most fundamental thing to make this happen is the necessity for peace, normality, and political stability in Tajikistan. If we really want, not in words but in action, to built a sovereign and legally based democratic state, which will enjoy the respect of the world community, we need normality. If we really want, not in words but in action, the possibility of step by step transfer to (?freedom) and democracy, we need normality. If we want, without demagogic slogans, to really rescue the national economy of the republic from the gravest economic crisis, we need normality. [sentence indistinct]

Now every citizen of the republic ought to address themselves to what has been and what will be their role in national unity, construction, and freedom of the country. Today is the moment of truth. We ought to be guided not by emotions but by reason and wisdom. [sentence indistinct]

The February tragedy, which we all have witnessed, demands [word indistinct] wisdom, reason, and total solidarity. [Words indistinct] I fully believe that we will pass this periodical test of life. In conclusion, I once again express sympathy to the families of martyrs and express the conviction that our people will never see such dark days again.

Turkmenistan

Baker Meets With President Niyazov

LD1202181792 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Excerpts] James Baker arrived in Turkmenistan today. Our correspondent Mergen Amanov reports.

[Amanov] After meeting the Turkmenistan president, Baker will visit a carpet factory where he will see the art of the skilled Turkmen workers. Then he will set off for the Turkmenistan president's country residence where he will continue his meeting with President Niyazov.

I think we will learn the results of the talks tomorrow. The U.S. and Turkmen delegations will discuss questions on foreign economic links. The main thing for Turkmenistan at the present stage is to reach agreement on an exchange of experience to introduce U.S. technology and to train specialists for a number of branches of the national economy.

As you know, the U.S. secretary of state is touring the Commonwealth of Independent States not only to become acquainted with and to establish personal relations with the leaders, but also to study the situation which has arisen during the political and economic transformations, in particular here in Turkmenistan. One must suppose that today's visit by James Baker will give a considerable spur to the development of mutually advantageous relations between the two states and—the main thing—to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Turkmenistan. [passage omitted]

But I think the talks will last until very late in the evening, and afterwards James Baker will go to the residence he has been allocated. Tomorrow he is scheduled to leave at 0700 by air for Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan.

U.S. Said To Establish Relations Soon

LD1302001692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1836 GMT 12 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] According to some sources, the U.S. intends to establish diplomatic relations with Turkmenistan. This was told to PF [POSTFACTUM] at the Turkmenistan Foreign Ministry citing U.S. Ambassador at Large Nicholas Olga, who paid a working visit to the Turkmenistan capital of Ashkhabad on February 10 and during the talks with his Turkmenian counterpart Avdy Kuliyev said that his visit concerned opening the U.S. Embassy in Ashkhabad and choosing the embassy premises and the ambassador's residence. According to some local deputies, this statement testifies to the fact that the U.S. leadership, that had repeatedly said they made establishing diplomatic relations with the republics of the former USSR conditional on the latter observing human

rights and the market reforms there being irreversible, intends to establish diplomatic relations with Turkmenistan in spite of the fact that the republican leadership has not yet taken resolute steps to reform the economy, in particular, has not adopted a law on privatization. The deputies relate this to the U.S. interest in Turkmenistan as a state having large deposits of strategic raw materials and occupying an advantageous position in the area. According to the Turkmenistan Foreign Ministry, two meetings of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and the republic's President Saparmurat Niyazov are planned for February 12 where establishing diplomatic relations and economic and trade contacts are meant to be discussed.

Republic Denies Training Azeri Soldiers

LD1102134592 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By TURKMEN PRESS-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Ashkhabad February 11 TASS— Turkmenistan denied it is training Azeri soldiers to fight in Nagorno-Karabakh. "It is a completely slanderous allegation", the press service of the Turkmen president said on Tuesday [11 February], blasting a "MOSCOW NEWS" report that former Soviet Central Asian republics, including Turkmenistan, are engaged in the activities.

"The government of Turkmenistan has several times stated its position: firstly, the conflict should be settled by peaceful means, secondly, none has the right to interfere into the internal affairs of another sovereign state", the press service said in a statement, adding that the author of the article intended to destabilise ethnic accord in Turkmenistan and undermine trust to the republican foreign policy.

Plans To Impose Economic Sanctions on Ukraine

LD1002172892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1752 GMT 7 Feb 92

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Turkmenistan intends to enforce economic sanctions against Ukraine in response for Odessa dockers' refusal to handle Turkmenistan's cargoes under foreign trade operations.

It has been learned from sources close to Turkmenistan's presidential council, another pretext for discussing this issue was the decision by Port Ilyichevsk not to ship 500 tones of Turkmen cotton to Turkey. The batch of cotton was supplied under an agreement on barter exchange between the Turkmen foreign trade firm Turkmenvneshtorgobmen, which operates on the pay-your-own-way basis, at the Republic's State Committee for Supplies and the Turkish firm Tarsan. The reciprocal supplies of building materials and consumer goods should begin after the Turkmen cargo arrives in Turkey. During Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's visit to Ashkhabad planned for February, the Turkmen side intends to discuss this issue with him proceeding from the premise that both states are in the Commonwealth's ruble space.

Relations between Turkmenistan and Ukraine have seriously worsened recently due to Ukraine's moves to drag on the conclusion of a contract to purchase Turkmen gas at new prices. Earlier, Turkmen deputy prime minister told PF [POSTFACTUM] that the Republic would possibly reduce the shipment of gas along the Turkmenia-center pipeline by the Ukrainian quota.

Economic Cooperation Reached With Bahrain

LD0802192792 Moscow TASS in English 2013 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Ashkhabad February 7 TASS—The agreement on developing economic, trade and cultural cooperation between Turkmenistan and Bahrain was reached today at a meeting of President of Turkmenistan, Saparmurat Niyazov, and the Bahrain delegation headed by Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Shaykh 'Isa Bin 'Isa al-Khalifah [name and title as received]. The delegation arrived in Ashkhabad on an official visit on Wednesday [12 February].

Niyazov thanked the guests for visiting the republic, for their efforts to establish ties and told them about the economic and political situation in the republic.

Shaykh 'Isa Bin 'Isa al-Khalifah expressed gratitude to the Turkmen president for the talks and said his country follows the changes in all spheres of life in the republic very closely. He noted Bahrain has sufficient experience in the transition to a market economy and is ready to share it with Turkmenistan. The head of the delegation handed in a personal message from the amir and Prince of Bahrain to Niyazov.

Armenia

Defense Minister Interviewed on Service, Army

NC1302070492 Yerevan HAYASTAN in Armenian 16 Jan 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Armenian Defense Minister Vazgen Sargsyan by Rita Sharoyan; place and date not given]

[Text] [Sharoyan] Our people are more or less aware of why Armenia needed a Defense Ministry. We would like you to comment on it.

[Sargsyan] I want to say at the outset that the creation of the Defense Ministry was not slow. The ministry was set up on the basis of the Defense Committee, which was the first organization of its kind in the republics. The Defense Ministry is currently tackling four problems: the creation of our own organization, conscription, war, and military doctrine.

The fundamental reason for creating the ministry was to place the defense of the republic and of Nagorno-Karabakh on a state level, thereby removing it from party influence. All organizations, parties, and individuals concerned about the defense of the republic should place themselves at the ministry's disposal. In fact, people are doing this even as we speak. Those who evade such duties will be held responsible. Today we can say that defense issues are raised, planned, and solved at a single center, the Defense Ministry. Organizations and enterprises wanting to contribute to defense work should send their contributions to the defense fund, account number 141511, at the operations department of the Armenian National Bank.

[Sharoyan] How is conscription proceeding, and what are you doing about Army deserters?

[Sargsyan] We managed to return all deserters back to their units by 30 December. The Defense Ministry has representatives in all Army units stationed in the republic to organize the draft, observe the possible removal of arms and ammunition from the republic, and ensure the maintenance of normal relations between Army commanders and the population. I must say that the uncertainty prevailing in the former Soviet Army is disrupting our work, and our efforts will be more successful when the status of the 7th Army in Armenia is clarified. Regardless of what happens, the property of that Army belongs to us, and we will care for it. What this means is that those who sell or purchase that Army's property, not to mention those who attack and plunder it, will be considered criminals. Those who allow such things to happen will be punished to the fullest extent of military law. Draftees who refuse to serve will be punished as deserters. The bill on the military prosecutor and tribunals are already being reviewed at the Supreme Soviet. We will be very relieved once these bills are passed.

[Sharoyan] How are you solving the Army's food and clothing problem?

[Sargsyan] The matter is solved by traditional means—that is, by allocations from the state budget. A soldier once said: Those who do not feed their own army end up feeding someone else's. We have to date fed the Army which served the empire; today we will feed our own Army with a sense of great responsibility. For decades the Union Army received its 1.1 percent finances from the Armenian budget. Today the same percentage is spent to finance our own army. The state's funds are truly limited, and we are well aware that without popular assistance and contributions we could not create a normal army.

[Sharoyan] Does the creation of the Defense Ministry preclude the fedayeen movement?

[Sargsyan] To fight in the fedayeen style and with the means of the fedayeen at the close of the 20th century would be tantamount to suicide. Glory to our fedayeen who fought heroically at the end of the last century and at the turn of this century; however, to achieve victory in these times, we need regular army units. All the self-defense detachments will be either fused into the state structures or be gathered in the reserve detachments under regional military commissariats. As in any other civilized country, no party or organization has the right to have its own armed forces. All Armenian males motivated by the defense of the fatherland and not by private and political interests can obtain both basic and structural training at the Armenian Defense Ministry. Thank God, we have no problems in that area. This means that ill-considered initiatives by parties or individuals to obtain arms and establish military detachments are meaningless.

[Sharoyan] How is the ministry itself shaping up?

[Sargsyan] At this time, we must act correctly and enlist all those Armenian officers who are willing and able to serve the Armenian Republic. We call on all officers to return and to comply to the ministry's chief of staff. The ministry's commander corps already includes nearly 60 generals and high-ranking officers. If we also consider that the republic's military commissariat, with all its potential, is one of the Defense Ministry's subdivisions, the situation is not that alarming.

[Sharoyan] What is the ministry doing to defend Nagorno-Karabakh? Could Nagorno-Karabakh resist if a large-scale battle breaks out?

[Sargsyan] There is no more any need to hide the fact that Nagorno-Karabakh is basically defended by the state's forces and resources. This is our duty. We were hiding this fact from our own people because we were too cautious. Today, Nagorno-Karabakh has been transformed into an impregnable fortress. We have plans on how to respond to a massive military operation against Nagorno-Karabakh. You may rest assured of that. We

are also attempting to organize defenses inside Nagorno-Karabakh on a state level, and I think we are succeeding. To conclude let me say that Nagorno-Karabakh is an obstacle on which Azerbaijan will stumble if she tries anything.

[Sharoyan] Is the fact that you are a writer, a drawback to discipline in military matters?

[Sargsyan] Yes. More so before, less now. I think it is very difficult to truly see the benefits and drawbacks of it, however. I see my duties as primarily organizational, not military. I think that is my forte.

[Sharoyan] Is there any subject you would like to talk about that I did not raise?

[Sargsyan] I request that all those who have a hand in running the country refrain from group or party passions and quarrels; that is one thing that might destroy our military efforts.

[Sharoyan] Are you a writer or a soldier?

[Sargsyan] I am a soldier among writers and a writer among soldiers.

[Sharoyan] Do you miss writing?

[Sargsyan] I miss it. I am sure that in a few years I will return to writing.

Leader Opens Supreme Soviet on Energy, NKAO

LD1202222592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] The fourth session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet opened in Yerevan today. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent V. Nazaryan] A break in the parliament's work lasted almost a month and a half, and this time was very difficult for Armenia. The energy crisis which has paralyzed not only the entire economy but people's lives has continued, and social tension caused by the forced liberalization of prices has increased. If we add to this the unprecedented rise of tension in Nagorno-Karabakh persisting for two weeks already, it becomes clear that the situation requires profound and comprehensive understanding today.

It was with precisely such an analysis that Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan addressed deputies at the morning session. Touching on the latest events in Nagorno-Karabakh, he stressed that Azerbaijan is continuing to bank on force in solving the conflict and that the support of the international community, primarily by internationalizing the problem in every possible way, should be sought in order to settle it in a peaceful and civilized manner.

Touching on the developing international links, the president stressed the need for expanding direct and mutually advantageous contacts between Armenia and its immediate neighbors—Turkey, Iran, and the countries of the Near East.

[Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian at 2100 GMT on 10 February reports that at the Armenian Supreme Soviet session "Ter-Petrosyan supported Yeltsin's idea of setting up interstate forces to maintain peace in the region."]

Russia Defers Ratifying Friendship Treaty

PM1102144192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Feb 92 First Edition p 2

[Article by Ashot Ayrapetyan, chief editor of the journal PRO ARMENIA: "Friends Should Not Be Squandered"]

[Text] A recent plenary session of the Russian Supreme Soviet deferred the question of ratifying the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Security between Russia and Armenia.

The article on military-political cooperation was the main source of parliament's dissatisfaction. Deputies justified their arguments by pointing to the fact that a treaty has yet to be concluded with Azerbaijan. Consequently military aid to Armenia could drag Russia into the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.

What is this—political tact or a desire to get out of harm's way? The latter probably played the deciding role. Unfortunately, members of the Russian parliament do not always apply the principle "look before you leap."

The sensational resolution on reviewing the question of ownership of Crimea could serve as an example. This decision essentially means that Russia not only has territorial claims on the Ukraine (perfectly valid, in my view) but is taking real steps to realize them. Although obviously this will still further undermine the Commonwealth of Independent but still poor states.

Not for the first time, parliament is avoiding making any decisions concerning Armenia or Nagorno-Karabakh lest it "offend" Azerbaijan. Russian politicians take a far tougher stand toward Georgia (in connection with the events in South Ossetia).

Russia needs a Russian-Armenian treaty no less than Armenia does. Georgia is also one of Russia's few potential allies, regardless of who is in power there at the moment. Azerbaijan, on the other hand—like Uzbekistan or Turkmenistan—will, in my opinion, only need the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] as long as the former communist leaders are in power there. But who can guarantee that they will be in power for long and that they will not suffer the same fate as Ligachev, Lukyanov, or Gorbachev? Or that the rulers who succeed

them will not be more eager to cooperate with Turkey, Iran, or Pakistan than with Russia—ravaged and enmeshed in bureaucracy? The balance of power could be upset as a result, which would lead to serious trouble for Russia and the Russian population on the Asian continent above all.

Apparently not all contemporary Russian politicians appreciate that Russia is faced with a difficult task: ensuring the security of its southern regions by diplomatic means. For the sake of this, it should at least value its natural allies. In my view, the dispute over ownership of Crimea or the question of dividing the Black Sea Fleet are not problems worth breaking a lance over. No one intends to evict Russians from Crimea or Armenians from Karabakh. But, for some reason, Russians are being forced to leave Baku and certain Central Asian republics.

So one must learn not to lose friends when making important state decisions.

Russian Official Comments

NC1002071992 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Yerevan, 7 Feb (ARMENPRES)—As is known, the Russian parliament postponed ratification of the treaty with Armenia. The deputies were particularly confused by Article 3, which stipulates the provision of immediate assistance in case of the emergence of a threat against one of the sides.

What fate awaits that document, and could the obstacles raised by the Russian deputies for its final ratification be removed? RESPUBLIKA ARMENII's correspondent asked these questions of Yevgeniy Ambardzumov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations Committee.

He replied: I think that the text of the agreement was finalized in a hasty manner. In the draft version, that controversial Article 3 stipulated that "urgent, pertinent consultations should be held" in the event of a conflict. First, that formulation does not preclude the provision of immediate assistance as included in the new version. Second, the original formulation sounds milder to some deputies.

Those deputies who are more cautious regarding ratification of the treaty do not want to get involved in anything taking place outside the republic's borders, forgetting Russia's historical and military-strategic interests. The rejection of that treaty would completely wipe out Russia's entire natural foreign policy, starting from the tsarist periods to the present time. The historic mutual orientation of our states is disregarded, an orientation which might play a role in the present global political situation. This is especially so in view of the fact that new states and alliances might emerge, and in fact are emerging, on the political map to which we had been accustomed. I personally think that the treaty has to be ratified. Much depends on how it is presented to the deputies. I think it was not done successfully the first time around.

Azerbaijan

Baker, Mutalibov Brief Press on Baku Talks

LD1202174892 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Talks took place in Baku today between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov. Our correspondent, Islam Kuliyev reports.

[Kuliyev] The main themes of the talks were the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Azerbaijan Republic and Azerbaijan's entry into the world economic community as an independent state.

President Mutalibov and Secretary Baker told the many journalists about this at a briefing which took place after talks between the official delegations of the two states. James Baker stated that the basic requirement for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States are five basic principles that are very important for us. He said: We discussed them for a very long time and in very great detail with the president of Azerbaijan. I got the impression that he agrees with them. We did not avoid the difficult problem of Nagorno-Karabakh and questions of the economic reforms which Azerbaijan is now undertaking.

In reply to the question: What way do you see for resolving the Karabakh problem, James Baker said:

[Begin Baker recording in English with superimposed Russian translation] I would like to say that the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh is a very complicated problem, and it must be resolved by peaceful means, by negotiations. I have already spoken about this in Armenia, and I would like to repeat here that the task of constructing a new and independent state, making this state a part of the international community, and changing over to the free market are already a sufficiently major task without, in addition to all that, engaging in a difficult dispute about Nagorno-Karabakh. [end recording]

The delegations also discussed draft economic agreements between the United States and Azerbaijan.

Mutalibov Offers Peace Package

OW1202142292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [12 February], U.S. Secretary of State James Baker visited the Azeri capital Baku, where he had a 3-hour conversation with President Ayaz Mutalibov.

He told journalists later that he could see fairly good prospects for the establishment of U.S.-Azerbaijani diplomatic relations. Commenting on the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, Baker stressed the need to settle it by exclusively peaceful political means.

Mutalibov said, for his part, that Azerbaijan had advanced a package of peace initiatives on Nagorno-Karabakh which, according to him, met the international principles of the inviolability of a state's borders and the observance of the rights of the local people, including the Armenian community.

He said he hoped that Mr. Baker's brief visit to Baku was only a prelude to closer contacts between the United States and Azerbaijan.

On Wednesday afternoon James Baker left by plane for Turkmenistan's capital Ashkhabad.

Baker on Karabakh Problem

LD1302002792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1836 GMT 12 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text]—The U.S. Secretary of State James Baker: Armenia and Azerbaijan should not have their territorial disputes burdening their problems in respect of development of independent democratic states. James Baker, arriving in the morning on February 12 to Baku from Yerevan, stated during his address to the journalists upon completion of his negotiations with the leaders of Azerbaijan that violence should be excluded during solution of the Karabakh problem. Mr. Baker expressed strong hope for the success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe experts' mission which is to arrive to Azerbaijan on February 13.

Attacks in Nagorno-Karabakh Region Continue

LD1202153492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 12 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—[passage omitted] Nagorno-Karabakh is awaiting the arrival of a group of observers from the CSCE member-countries. The people of Karabakh have also pinned their hopes for an end to the bloodshed on visits by commissions from the former Union and the peace mission of Presidents Yeltsin and Nazarbayev. But the armed confrontation has become even more serious. According to Gegam Bagdasaryan, press secretary to the chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Supreme Soviet, "the parliament of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic has expressed its readiness to hold talks with the Azerbaijani side if Azerbaijan halts military actions against the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic." He noted that there have still been no direct contacts with the Azerbaijani side.

'Day of Renaissance' Declared

NC1202180892 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Enraged by the major (?defeat) at Malybey'li, Azerbaijanis from Shusha subjected Stepanakert to prolonged and fierce shelling. Forty-eight [word indistinct] rockets and 12 Alazan missiles were fired on the city. Seven buildings were partially destroyed. A shell exploded in a residential building, killing one resident and injuring another. Another four city residents were injured in other parts of the city.

The exchange of fire continued in other parts of the republic. There is no information about the number injured.

Despite the bitter war situation, the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh are surviving and waging a struggle. The chairman of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Supreme Soviet declared 12 February the Day of Renaissance to mark the start of the national liberation struggle of Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians. Four years ago today the first mass rally took place in Stepanakert to defend self-determination for Nagorno-Karabakh.

Gasanov Calls For Talks

NC1302082692 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 10 Feb 92 p 6

[ANATOLIA agency report from Baku: "War Is Intensifying in Karabakh"]

[Excerpt] Clashes between the Azerbaijanis and Armenians in Karabakh [Nagorno-Karabakh] are worsening. The towns of Kirkidzhan and Khodzhaly have fallen to the Armenians in intensive clashes in the Karabakh region during the past two months. The Armenians have besieged the city of Agdam.

Some 51 people have been killed in shelling in Agdam during the past four or five days. The city is 450 km from Baku. A group of Turkish journalists who recently tried to take a flight to Baku were turned back from Agdam airport on the grounds that planes could not land there because the airport was being shelled.

Azerbaijani Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov has confirmed that intense clashes were taking place between the Azerbaijanis and Armenians in Agdam and that artillery units were pounding the city. Gasanov told a news conference in Baku that more than 700 Azerbaijanis have been killed in clashes in Karabakh.

He denied reports that some of the 250,000 arms sold by Germany to Turkey have been channeled to Azerbaijan. He said: "The Armenians are trying to convince the world that Iran is supporting Azerbaijan because of the Islamic factor and that Turkey is doing the same because of Turkism. Turkey and Iran are Azerbaijan's neighbors and we share the same religion."

Gasanov asserted that the Russians are supplying arms to the Armenians in the war in Karabakh. Asked about the possibility of Turkey mediating between Azerbaijan and Armenia, he said: "I maintain a positive view. Other countries also want to mediate, but we want this problem solved through talks between Turkey, Iran, Azerbaijan, and Armenia." [passage omitted]

UN Delegation Team Arrives

NC1302115092 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0300 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] A UN delegation has arrived in Baku at the invitation of the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry. Two delegation members visited Azerbaijani rayons bordering Armenia and the mountainous area in Nagorno-Karabakh. In addition, they studied the situation of refugees at length.

German Deputy Sees No Role for UN Force

LD0802193592 Moscow TASS in English 2128 GMT 7 Feb 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Anar Kadirli]

[Text] Baku February 7 TASS—The UN forces should not be used in solving the Karabakh problem, a deputy of the German Bundestag, Dietrich Sperling and head of the Eastern Churches of Germany, Klaus Wirwol said today in a press conference in Baku. The German guests had come to attend the Third Congress of Sister Cities of the former Soviet Union and Germany.

"We have come here as private persons to have a clear view of the Karabakh conflict", the German guests said. They met with representatives of different political parties and movements, with religious workers representing the Muslims, the Russian Orthodox Church and the Jewish community of the republic.

Moscow Reporting 'Biased' Toward Armenia

NC0902122792 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0300 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Commentary by Seyyad Akhbabaly]

[Text] It is common knowledge that shortages are becoming more severe. Despite this, Moscow newspapers prefer to focus attention on Dachnak Armenians. In fact, as if trying to win a socialist competition, they are publishing biased reports against Azerbaijan, reports that are conveyed to them by their Armenian correspondents and supporters of Armenians in both Armenia and the mountainous region in Karabakh. Is this approach being maintained only for the sake of cash? No, political motives are also behind it.

IZVESTIYA yesterday published an article entitled "Clashes Are Continuing in Nagorno-Karabakh." In it, Gazaryan, Armenia's permanent representative in Moscow [title as heard], tried to deny the indisputable fact that foreign mercenary bandits are fighting Azerbaijanis in Karabakh. He noted: Had this been true, Azerbaijan would have shown the dead bodies of the mercenaries to the entire world.

What can be said about such a shameless person? We can only be patient. Dishonest Armenians and their supporters have infiltrated various information sources of the press in Moscow. They do not allow the world to be properly informed on what has befallen the Azerbaijani people in Karabakh.

It is indisputable that mercenary bandits and Armenians have caused many tragic incidents against Azerbaijanis in the Karabakh region. In fact, the mercenary cadres have been seen on Azerbaijani television. Meanwhile, Azerbaijani newspapers have reported on the matter and published photographs depicting the foreign bandits.

The Armenian permanent representative in Moscow is aware of Armenian Defense Minister Vazgen Sargsyan's appeal to Armenians all over the world. He said that Armenians in Karabakh have limited resources and noted that their brothers in foreign countries must help them in every way. He was appealing for manpower and modern arms.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and PRAVDA have also published reports by their Armenian correspondents, Khambaryan and Agayan. However, it seems that the two correspondents were unaware of each other's work when they sent fabricated reports to Moscow. The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent reported that the crisis in Armenia's power supply network has reached peak level. He also noted that work in all the industrial establishments has stopped and students have not attended school for two months. PRAVDA's correspondent reported that despite the power shortage in Armenia, establishments are maintaining their normal work schedules. In fact, he said that more than 100 large establishments are working at full capacity. How can we believe what these dishonest Armenians say?

PRAVDA's Armenian correspondent later reported that Armenia has upheld the proposal made by Azerbaijan's foreign minister for bilateral diplomatic talks to be held to resolve the Karabakh problem. This approach is deceptive as well. Has Azerbaijan not put forward similar proposals in the past? It is common knowledge that President Ayaz Mutalibov and other Azerbaijani officials made several proposals at high-level meetings with journalists present calling for negotiations aimed at removing the dispute created by Armenian land claims in the Karabakh region. Naturally, this was despite the fact that the problem is an internal affair of Azerbaijan, and as such, no country, including Armenia, can be allowed to interfere.

It seems that the correspondent wished to portray Armenians as a peaceloving people and Azerbaijanis as a bloodthirsty community. Nevertheless, it is obvious who

is doing what. The Dachnak Armenians wish to forcibly seize a part of our homeland.

PRAVDA's Armenian correspondent later reported that Azerbaijan is massing its armed forces in the northern sector of the Shaumyanovskiy Rayon in preparation for an attack on Armenian residential areas.

We wish to inform our listeners that we have received reports that several rayons in Armenia continue to dispatch arms and reinforcements to the Armenian residential areas in Azerbaijan's Gorenboyskiy Rayon. Armenia has officially established the tasks its rayon officials will fulfill in Azerbaijan.

Georgia

Sigua Describes Political, Ecomomic Affairs

Economy in 'Catastrophic State'

LD1202000692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2025 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Interview with Tengiz Sigua, acting prime minister of the interim government of the Republic of Georgia, by A. Peslyak, in Moscow on 11 February; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Peslyak] Would you be so kind as to give a brief description of the political and economic and other situation today, if you can?

[Sigua] Well, the political situation in Georgia is gradually getting back tc normal. The interim government and the Military Council are already in control of the entire territory of the republic. There are no longer any especially hot spots. The last one was the Sukhumi railway junction. It has been operating for four days now. So, transport communications have already been fully restored—the railway, aviation, and the motorways. So, the republic's vital activity is gradually getting back on the rails again.

As far as the republic's economy is concerned, it is in a catastrophic state, one can say it bluntly. There are hardly any reserves of such main types of food raw materials like oil, sugar. The position with fuel and energy resources is very difficult. At the present time, there is a deep-going energy crisis in Georgia owing to a shortage of fuel resources, in particular fuel oil, petroleum, diesel fuel, and aviation fuel. Today there is only one flight from Tbilisi to Moscow, and sometimes there is no communication at all.

What are the prospects? First, we are hoping that we will receive investment from Western countries: hard, freely convertible currency. That will permit us to gradually correct the economic situation in the republic. Well, when attending the meeting of heads of governments of the CIS republics in Moscow, we raised the question of receiving investment from all the different credits that the United States of America has allocated. The question was resolved positively. Then we signed a protocol here to the effect that the republic takes upon itself the obligation to pay these debts itself to cover all these credits. These two protocols were signed by us.

On 14 February in Minsk, there will be a gathering of the heads of the member republics of the CIS. If we receive an invitation to it, we intend to go there because issues of a military nature will be examined: that is, the establishment of a code for the individual republics; and the interests of the Republic of Georgia are considerably affected. Our representatives will be present at that conference as well.

As far as the issue of Georgia's membership of the CIS is concerned, the fact is that, owing simply to the physical lack of time, we have not managed to make a profound study of that package of documents and therefore I do not have the right to make any kind of definite statement about membership or non-membership. But in principle, this issue should be resolved by the legislative body; that is, when there is a new parliament, this issue will be examined at the sessions of the new parliament and a decision will be adopted there. Naturally, at the present time the interim government cannot adopt any decision on this issue.

[Peslyak] At present, the legislative body is essentially the executive, the interim government—or are there still some other kinds of structures or mechanisms that can act as legislative bodies?

[Sigua] No, there is no body of that type, but a political consultative council—again a transitional one—under the interim government, which is made up of representatives of all the leading political parties and organizations, eminent public figures, political scientists moreover. And this council is examining all the most important issues concerning the vital activity of the republic: that is, in the political sphere and the economic sphere. Views are worked out there and recommendations are submitted to the interim government. I think that at the present time that body is operating sufficiently actively. Yes, you are right, at the present time the interim government has to be engaged in both legislative activity and executive activity. Therefore I personally think that somewhere toward the end of May or at the beginning of June, there should already be elections to the new parliament and then everything will fall into place.

[Peslyak] The development of that which you spoke about yesterday at the press conference—of the laws passed, of the registration of parties and political movements, the law on land reform, on freedom of the press, and so forth: What packages of new legislative documents are currently on the way, as they say, to being adopted?

[Sigua] The question of adopting laws and of their practical implementation, the law on the removal of state property from state control and on the start of the process of privatization. First of all, communal services

facilities will be privatized in our country—trading and light industry enterprises. In principle, we are examining triple stage privatization of state property. The practical stage of privatization will start in March. [following captions appear on the screen: "PRIVATIZATION: Stage 1—trading, service and light industry facilities; Stage 2—larger enterprises; Stage 3—chemical, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, metallurgy, railway, aviation facilities]

[Peslyak] The question of relations with your component parts, with your neighbors?

[Sigua] Well, the most acute question remains relations with former South Ossetia. Right from the very first day, the interim government undertook steps to get contacts going, and the first round of talks has already taken place. I think that these talks will be continued in the very near future. The main thing at the moment is to work out a common view, to formulate a moratorium, an immediate ceasefire—that is, to cease the military confrontation—and second, negotiations—that is, political and economic talks. I hope that these talks will be conducted in February or March. [passage omitted]

The political situation on the whole territory of Georgia is gradually returning to normal. Demonstrations are no longer taking place. We telephoned Tbilisi today and were told that it is calm now.

It is, of course, untrue to say that there are political prisoners in Georgia. The point is, a state of emergency has been declared in Tbilisi at present and a curfew is still in force, and if anybody is detained, it is only for infringing the passport regulations. We have no political prisoners. Two officials have been detained. One of them is the former chairman of the budget and finance commission of the Parliament, and the other is the minister of finances in Gamsakhurdia's government. They were both detained on the grounds of their involvement in large-scale corruption.

[Peslyak] Are there any other reports or facts that are being misinterpreted by the media, and consequently by the viewers, listeners and readers?

[Sigua] Yes, there are such facts. Sometimes we notice that facts are being incorrectly interpreted by various channels of Russian Television. In particular, it was reported yesterday that I allegedly stated at the press conference that Georgia was striving to join the CIS. Nothing of the sort was said. We repeat that this issue should be solved by a legislative body. The provisional government has no right to adopt such an important decision. Also facts occur—for example, an interview with Mr. Gamsakhurdia was shown the other day and it was presented as a recent interview, whereas in fact the interview was 20 days old. All these facts are stirring the Georgian people, and I would ask the leadership of Russian television to present the facts as they really are, without falsifying them.

[Peslyak] I think that in this case, this is equally applicable to the First, Second, and many other channels which we have.

[Sigua] Yes, such instances of misinformation occur on various channels.

[Peslyak] Thank you very much.

INTERFAX Interview

OW1202182992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1724 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of Georgia's temporary government Tengiz Sigua stated that in order for economic reform to be successful privatization and liberalized prices must be introduced. He also commented that the credit policy must be more strict and the social conditions in the republic must be monitored.

In an interview with INTERFAX the Premier said he hoped prices would stabilize by year's end. He expects prices to fall in the summer of 1993.

Sigua noted with some satisfaction, that 25 nations have already recognized the Georgian republic and noted the accomplishments of the current leadership. He added that the main reason for the non- recognition of the republic under Gamsakhurdia was the reluctance to introduce reforms. The Premier reported that western firms have begun investing in the Republic's economy.

Sigua said that Georgia intends to raise the question of CIS [Commonwealth of independent States] military units located in the republic but only after signing economic and political agreements with Russia.

The premier favors the establishment of a parliamentary republic in the near future but the future government system must be decided by referendum.

Sigua also reported that he sees a role for former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze in Georgia's political institutes. Up until the mid 1980's Shevardnadze held various party and state positions in the republic, he was later transferred to Moscow from the post of First secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia. Sigua feels that Shevardnadze enjoys considerable authority in world politics and may facilitate the "revival of the Georgian republic both politically and economically".

The complete transcript of the interview with Sigua will be published in the INTERFAX weekly "Nation and Society".

Rejects Charges of 'Putschism'

MK1202141592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 16 Feb 92 p 11

[Interview with Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondents Vladimir Yelemyanenko and Akakiy Mikadze in Tbilisi on 7 February: "Tengiz Sigua: '...I Would Not Talk About Georgia Entering the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]...' Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua of Georgia's Provisional Government in Conversation with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Correspondents Vladimir Yemelyanenko and Akakiy Mikadze"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Following Eduard Shevardnadze and Zviad Gamsakhurdia a team of politicians has come to power in Georgia which upholds its right to make reforms with weapons in hand. On learning that MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI was interested in Professor Sigua, who has on two occasions been the center of tremendous political intrigue, consultants warned us that "emphasis is not being put on that." Prime Minister Sigua was predicted a short tenure both under the first president and after he was deposed, when Sigua became head of the provisional government.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Mr. Sigua, how can you account for the fact that Zviad Gamsakhurdia took you onto his team, made your political reputation, and then you deposed him?

[Sigua] I did not oppose the president personally, but the lawlessness that he legalized. You have to study the documents that he signed, which effectively made the parliament a tame affair. What about the presidential decree dispossessing the kulaks, whereby the militia and KGB were authorized to strip the peasants down to the last loaf of bread? This was economic adventurism, like the reduction in the price of essential commodities ahead of the presidential election. What of his statement that Merab Mamardashvili and Niko Chavchavadze should be "chucked out" of the academy? That was what Hitler did when he expelled Albert Einstein from the German Academy. And Suslov tried to give Andrey Sakharov short shrift. These are not isolated incidents—they form a pattern. I would come to work in the morning and I would learn from the newspapers that I had, it transpired, signed an "Appeal to the American People" demanding in the government's name that Bush resign for failing to recognize Gamsakhurdia's regime.

My hair stood on end. This happened a week before my trip to the United States, where questions of aid for our republic were to be settled. It is easy to see that it was deliberate: In exchange for aid we were expected to undertake democratic reform, and Gamsakhurdia was working to isolate us and create a "new Albania."

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] You were bound to have seen that before you took up your post as premier.

[Sigua] I wanted to neutralize the course of self-isolation.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] So you agreed to a salesperson in a store with a fourth-grade education becoming minister of trade in your government, and a man who had just come out of jail becoming his deputy?

[Sigua] I had to give in so that even more terrible decrees were not signed to threaten us with economic catastrophe—decrees banning commercial structures and joint ventures and severing economic relations with Russia. I could not compromise ad infinitum. When he said that I had to go to the United States, obviously setting me up for a fall [podstavlyaya menya pod proval], I moved into opposition.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] And with your confederates you overthrew the lawfully elected authorities.

[Sigua] Tell me why the civilized world did not recognize the Gamsakhurdia regime, yet today Georgia has been recognized de facto by 24 countries? We have been offered help in reconstruction by Austria, Germany, France, Russia, and a number of other countries. I reject charges of "putschism." We did not want to overthrow the existing system. Shots came from the presidential palace in response to our demands—that legality be restored and the economy liberalized. What kind of a democracy is it that allows itself to be crushed?

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] However, you were able to protect yourself with a large sum of money. Combat hardware, arms, uniforms, and lastly food cost massive amounts. From where did the fledgling Georgian democracy get them?

[Sigua] Before the August putsch in Moscow Kitovani's guard was on the state budget and virtually everything was bought with presidential money. Later, when Tengiz [Kitovani] took the guard away, taking it over to the opposition, the links remained. The directors of a footwear and sewn goods factory supplied 1,000 pairs of shoes and 2,500 sets of clothing respectively, and food was brought in from all over Georgia. In October-November the peasants brought us 25 tonnes of butter and 30 tonnes of meat.

As for arms, I did not interfere in military matters, but I saw the hardware appearing. First, six armored personnel carriers, two infantry fighting vehicles, and then another three. I asked: "Where is it from?" Kitovani is a reserved man; he kept quiet or said: "What difference does it make to you?"

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Isn't that why the Georgian political leaders' present is closely linked with the past? Thus, Kitovani has a criminal record and now we have Professor Jaba Ioseliani, who yesterday was a thief in law.

[Sigua] No one is making any secret of that or of the fact that Tengiz was a well-known artist and Jaba a playwright and art critic [Sigua ends].

It is virtually impossible to get into the premier's office. There are men with assault rifles in some places standing in front of the entrance, and only two people go in without knocking. During the interview they came in, listened in silence, and then telephoned someone. Sometimes they exchanged retorts with Sigua—about urgent matters, we realized. These two men were Tengiz Kitovani and Jaba Ioseliani.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] With their old ties, is it that hard for the mafia to exert influence by throwing money around?

[Sigua] I personally have no links with those circles. But there may have been backing. Let us suppose that black marketeers helped Kitovani because Gamsakhurdia threatened to shut down all cooperatives and joint ventures and eradicate commerce. I cannot confirm that black marketeers maintained the Guard with their money, but I think that there was aid of that kind. It meant survival for these structures.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Does this not put you on your guard? Won't that aid make you a puppet in the hands of experienced politicians?

[Sigua] No. Under Gamsakhurdia people wanted to make me a puppet. It reached the point where the president's sister and wife were saying who should be appointed ministers.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Who gives the orders today? It is, after all, thanks to you that the old communist nomenklatura, the proteges of corrupt circles, are coming to power—the finance minister, for instance, who spent eight years in jail for bribery.

[Sigua] On the first day I said that I would be guided by one thing—professionalism. I do not look at who is a minister—a "roundtabler" [kruglyy], a Green, or a supporter of Zviad [Gamsakhurdia]. Certainly, I have kept 15 ministers from Gamsakhurdia's cabinet. They are unsullied professors.

As for Finance Minister Parnaoze Ananiashvili, he is a matter for separate discussion. Before appointing him, I listened to 23 consultants. Their examination showed that no one has a better knowledge of finances than this man. He was convicted under Shevardnadze. Various sources tell me that this situation is typical of the stagnation period. A wine and tea production plan was sent out for Georgia. If it was fulfilled, that meant kudos for the republic. Sugar was brought into wineries for the sake of the plan to distill poor quality wine. The finance minister demanded an investigation into the money allocated for this. Eduard Shevardnadze, I was told, considered this a stab in the back since the failure of the action would deprive him of his Hero of Socialist Labor stars.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Was this information responsible for your not allowing an interview with Shevardnadze to be televised for many weeks?

[Sigua] That was not the only reason. I have a disparate attitude toward Eduard Shevardnadze. On the one hand, he cannot be aloof from the lawlessness that was perpetrated during the period when he was the republic's top man. On the other, I am a realist and I realize that his reputation in the international community could extricate my homeland from economic disaster. But I advised that the interview with him be held back for one reason alone: Public opinion had to be prepared for Shevardnadze's reappearance on television. After all, for more than a year he was a "Kremlin agent" and a "traitor to the nation."

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] How long will the Provisional Government and the Military Council exist?

[Sigua] We were ready to resign 12 January after the first consultative meeting of parliament members, but it was a failure. We are now planning an election in May or June after land reform and after, I hope, life has stabilized.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Are you sure it will prove possible to create precedents for normal life? We have the impression that the republic is ungovernable. There is looting, marauding, and sabotage of the new authorities' resolutions everywhere. One of us was, for instance, robbed twice in Zugdidi and near Sukhumi. Gamsakhurdia's guardsmen and Kitovani's guardsmen are robbing people. Before our eyes Kitovani's men simply took a Zhiguli in Gali from a local resident and drove off in it.

[Sigua] This is inevitable when both sides have stockpiled such a quantity of weapons. Be objective though—another tendency has also emerged: The railroads and enterprises have begun to operate. Life is normalizing, albeit with difficulty.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] What is being done to achieve this?

[Sigua] First, we immediately agreed to talks on the South Ossetian question and are prepared to give the Ossetians cultural autonomy. Relations with Abkhazia have improved. The bringing of troops onto Abkhazia's territory has been viewed with understanding. Second, we are striving to cooperate with all the countries of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. I am afraid that that alliance has no future, particularly given the worsening of Russian- Ukrainian and Armenian-Azerbaijani relations. That is why I would not talk about Georgia joining the CIS, although it is up to the parliament to adopt the final decision.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] How do you regard the fact that CIS Army units are in Georgia, which has declared its independence?

[Sigua] I consider the statement by Kravchuk, Mutalibov, and others about privatizing the former USSR's army to be a Bolshevik complex and politically juvenile. We will organize economic cooperation first and then

resolve political problems with our neighbors. And military problems will be settled via talks later.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Before the coup you told us that you did not consider yourself an opposition leader. Do you consider yourself the country's leader today?

[Sigua] I am aware of myself as an economist and reformer, yes, not as a political leader. That is why I pressed for a consultative council to be set up, comprising leaders of all influential parties. Moreover, as soon as the new parliament begins its work, I will return to my institute and quit big-time politics.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] With your withdrawal there will inevitably be an increase in the struggle for power and political fragmentation.

[Sigua] These are manageable normal processes if they take parliamentary forms. For instance, I can see and know of a man who will take my post, but I will not name him.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] The readiness with which Tengiz Sigua intends to come down from the political Mount Olympus is repeating itself. Under Gamsakhurdia, as you know, he did not cling to his portfolio, and perhaps that is why he still has it.

On Future Commonwealth Relations

MK1202123592 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 2

[Interview with T. Sigua, chairman of Georgian Provisional Government, by Vladimir Strakhov; place and date not given: "T. Sigua: 'Outside, But With the Commonwealth'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] A Georgian delegation attended the meeting of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] heads of government as observers. The delegation was headed by T. Sigua, chairman of the Provisional Government. Our correspondent met with him at the end of the conference.

[Strakhov] Mr. Sigua, you have observer status at this meeting. Does this mean that you simply sat at the side and did not intervene at all?

[Sigua] No, we signed a protocol with the 10 CIS republics on centralized purchases this year of imported food, along with a separate pledge to pay foreign credits.

[Strakhov] But your republic is not a member of the CIS...

[Sigua] That is right, but the food aid is American. The U.S. leadership stipulated specially that the credits are for the CIS and Georgia. That is why were entitled to sign the above document.

[Strakhov] How do you intend to develop your future relations with the Commonwealth countries?

[Sigua] Georgia has already agreed with virtually all CIS countries to conclude direct economic contracts for 1992. Despite the complex economic situation in the republic we have something to offer our partners. We will accept all our republic's invitations to summit meetings within the CIS framework. If we get an official invitation, I will also try to attend the Minsk meeting of CIS heads of state 14 February.

As for joining the Commonwealth, this matter must be settled by the republic's parliament.

Proposal Submitted To End S. Ossetia Conflict

AU1102143892 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Statement issued by the Republic of Georgia Provisional Government Political Consultative Council in Tbilisi on 10 February]

[Text] Having listened to the Republic of Georgia Provisional Government Political Consultative Council Commission for the Peaceful Settlement of Conflicts in the Tskhinvali Region, the council expresses serious concern regarding the situation that has taken shape in Tskhinvali and the neighboring regions. The overthrown regime of former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia did not take into account the positive proposals of the interparliamentary commission of the Supreme Soviets of the former USSR, the Russian Republic, and the Republic of Georgia that were adopted in Sukhumi on 31 May 1991 and (?this has led to) the subsequent escalation of armed confrontation in the region. The council reaffirms the (?steadfastness) of the Republic of Georgia Provisional Government regarding resolving this conflict by peaceful means and in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter and the corresponding (?norms) of international law. In spite of the fact that the Republic of Georgia Provisional Government has repeatedly appealed to the Ossetian population of Tskhinvali and its neighboring regions and has taken a whole range of concrete steps to resolve this conflict, the Ossetian side is stubbornly avoiding official talks. At the same time, the mass media within the Republic of Georgia [words indistinct] the real situation [words indistinct] does not want to start talks.

In connection with this and to normalize the situation, stop the bloodshed, establish peace and quiet, restore transport and power lines and water (?supplies), and guarantee normal living conditions for the region's population, the Republic of Georgia Provisional Government Political Consultative Council considers it necessary:

1. (?To request) that the Republic of Georgia Provisional Government appeal to the region's population and call upon it [to establish] civic peace and resolve the conflict on the basis of dialogue and, at the same time, state that it will guarantee equal rights and fundamental freedoms and (?defend) democracy and the supremacy of the law.

2. To facilitate the withdrawal of USSR Internal Ministry internal troops from the territory of the Republic of Georgia in a designated time period, because they represent one destabilizing factor in the region.

3. Taking into account the final document of the Moscow Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe that (?envisages) the participation of special international commissions in regions of conflict, a request should be made to the Council on Security and Cooperation in Europe to send international experts to the Tskhinvali region to study and assess this situation and thus facilitate a peaceful resolution of this political conflict.

4. To create in the very near future a [words indistinct] coordinating committee made up of representatives of the organs of power of the Republic of Georgia and the population of the conflict region with the aim of coordinating the actions of the organs of state power and the population to restore order and guarantee economic activities and the life of the region's inhabitants.

The Political Consultative Council expresses [words indistinct] and calls upon international organizations to support democratic restructuring in Georgia and facilitate the process of the restoration of the state independence of the Republic of Georgia.

Situation Updated

LD1202162592 Moscow TASS in English
1525 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz February 12 TASS—The past day was a troubled day for people of South Ossetia again. The press centre of the information committee reported that Tskhinvali was heavily shelled for four hours from the side of the Georgian villages of Nikozi and Tamarasheni, as well as from the outskirts of populated localities of the neighbouring Gori district. It was not immediately known if there was loss of life on the Ossetian side. Self-defence units protecting approaches to Tskhinvali returned the fire.

Vladimir Kochiyev, interior minister of the South Ossetian Republic, in an interview to ITAR-TASS confirmed that Tskhinvali had been heavily shelled by commandos, and assessed this as the striving to interfere with planned negotiations of the Ossetian side with plenipotentiary representatives of the Georgian provisional government.

The minister said that a real threat of the resumption of large-scale combat operations still exists in South Ossetia. Several units of commandos having armaments and military equipment are staying in the neighbouring Georgian villages. They refuse to surrender arms and disperse.

In addition, crime is rife in South Ossetia. Several gangs operating there raid convoys of vehicles, rob peaceful people, fire at checkpoints manned by internal troops. The state of emergency introduced over the entire territory of the republic has a positive effect.

The minister said the Ossetian side is prepared to conduct constructive negotiations on definite conditions—an end to armed raids on the territory of South Ossetia, the lifting of the economic and transport blockade around Tskhinvali and guarantees to 100 thousand refugees that they will be able to return to places with predominantly Ossetian population in Georgia.

Reports from Tskhinvali say that the city still experiences economic, energy and transport blockade. The Georgian side does not lift its roadblocks on the Dzhava-Tskhinvali route along which humanitarian aid from Vladikavkaz was reaching the besieged city.